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ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY.

ARCHAEOLOGIA:

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ANTIQUITY,

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ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR,

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS,

&c.

I.—*Masons' Marks at Westminster Hall.* *By* Edwin Freshfield, *LL.D., V.P.*

Read December 13, 1883.

When, in the spring of 1882, the First Commissioner of Works announced his intention of proceeding to destroy the old law courts at Westminster, it seemed to me that it became necessary for every person interested in antiquities—and particularly in the antiquities of London—to watch with interest the result of this destruction, and in consequence I obtained permission from the Chief Commissioner to visit the place myself, and also to take with me two friends—Fellows of the Society. I selected for this purpose my friends Mr. Micklethwaite and Mr. Somers Clarke. I should like to say something personal to myself, however, to explain why I thought I was for many reasons a proper person to watch these buildings. My grandfathers upon both my father's and mother's side, my father and myself, have

been attorneys of the Court of King's and Queen's Bench at Westminster for a period stretching over very nearly one hundred years, and as the law courts at Westminster were built somewhere about the year 1812, we have collectively seen them built and destroyed.

As soon as the buildings were cleared away it became apparent that a considerable portion of the old construction of the hall would be visible, and of this I obtained permission to have photographs taken. The series of photographs exhibited represents the result of this; and they form a continuous series, showing the different bays of the hall from one end to the other, and also views of some of the details.

As the ground was cleared away it also became apparent that a great portion of the Norman building still remained; that the Norman buttresses had been cut into on either side, and an arcade introduced. It was easy to see from the colour of the stone which was Norman and which was the work of Richard the Second; the Norman work being chiefly in a yellow stone—I suppose Caen, and the work of Richard the Second being for the most part in the bluish fire-stone from Reigate.

But beyond this the Norman work was covered with the marks of the masons, and by the assistance of my friend Mr. Somers Clarke I obtained complete rubbings of all that were worth rubbing.

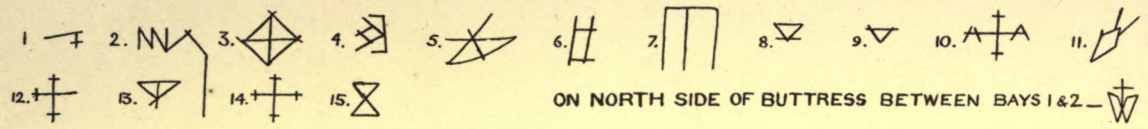
The subject of these masons' marks has been already slightly considered by the Society, and in the thirtieth volume of *Archaeologia*[a] there will be found a paper upon it.

I have not yet formed any very complete opinion upon the subject. Some of the marks are of an altogether fanciful nature, and it has been surmised that they have more to do with the individual mason than with any particular gild; but some are common apparently to all countries, and among these is one particular mark—the arrow-head; several instances of this will be found among the marks at Westminster Hall. This mark seems to me to be one of great antiquity and of universal use.

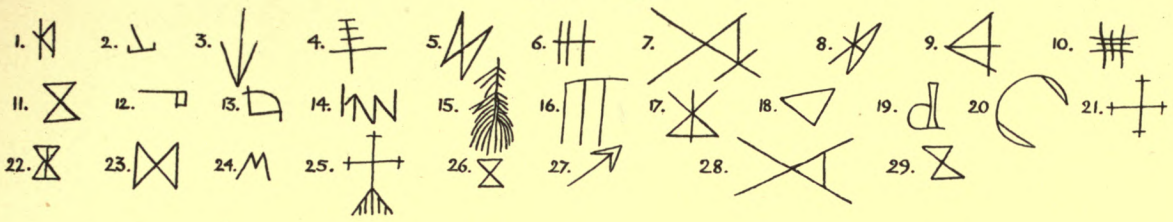
Some five years ago I went from the mouth to the source of the Ebro, and upon the outside of all the buildings of a period corresponding approximately with the Norman part of the hall, viz. the eleventh and twelfth centuries, I found the arrow-head was used with other marks. I found the same mark upon the stones

[a] Vol. xxx. p. 113.

BAY 1.



BAY 2.



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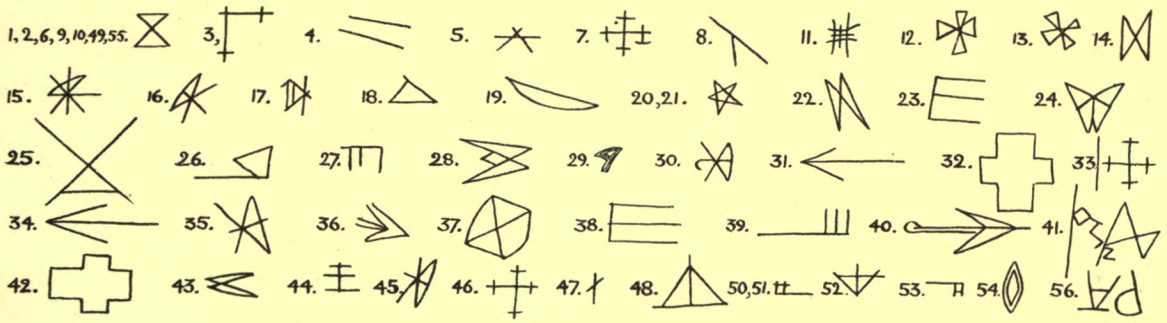

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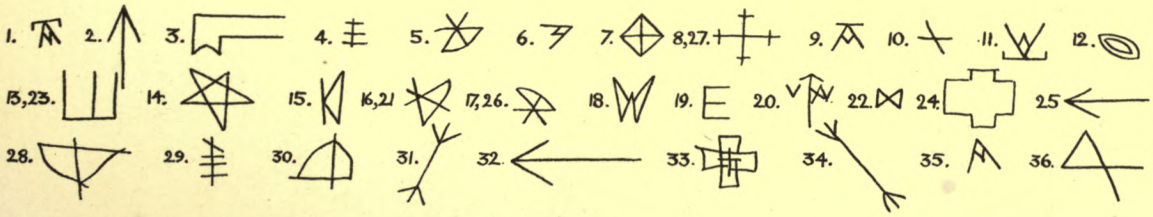

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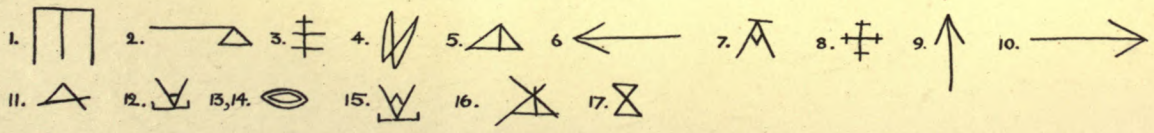
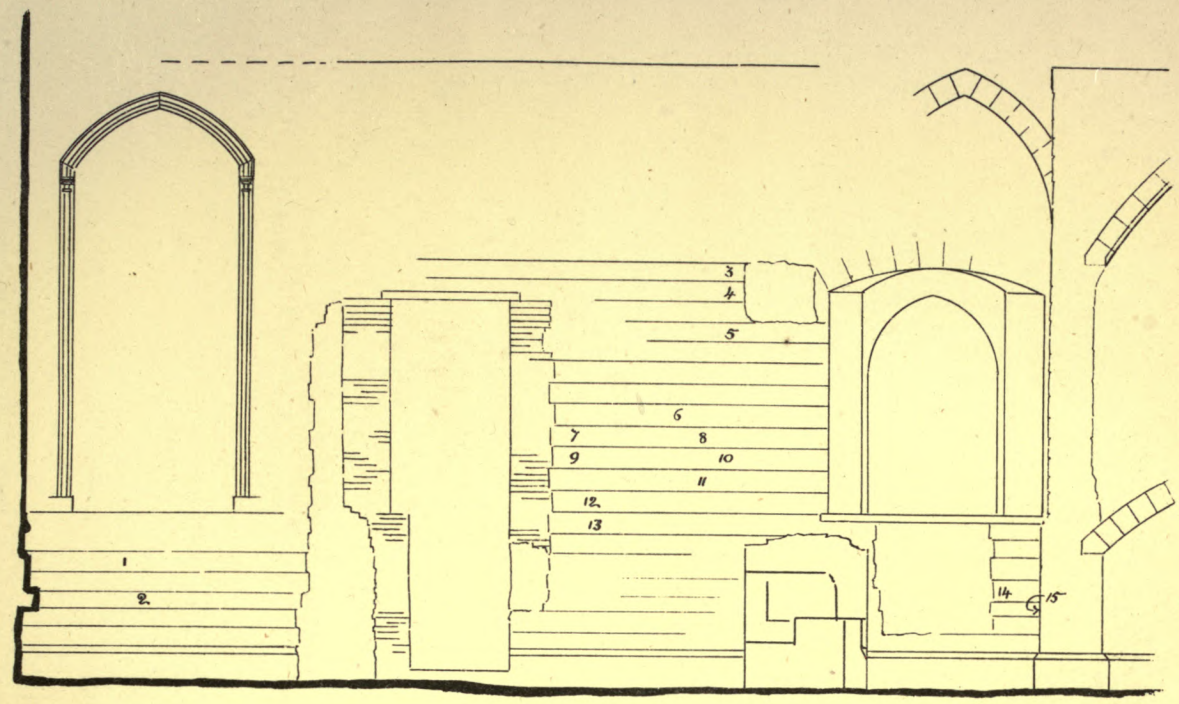


SCALE OF 0 3 6 9 12 INCHES.

MASONS' MARKS--WESTMINSTER HALL, WEST SIDE.

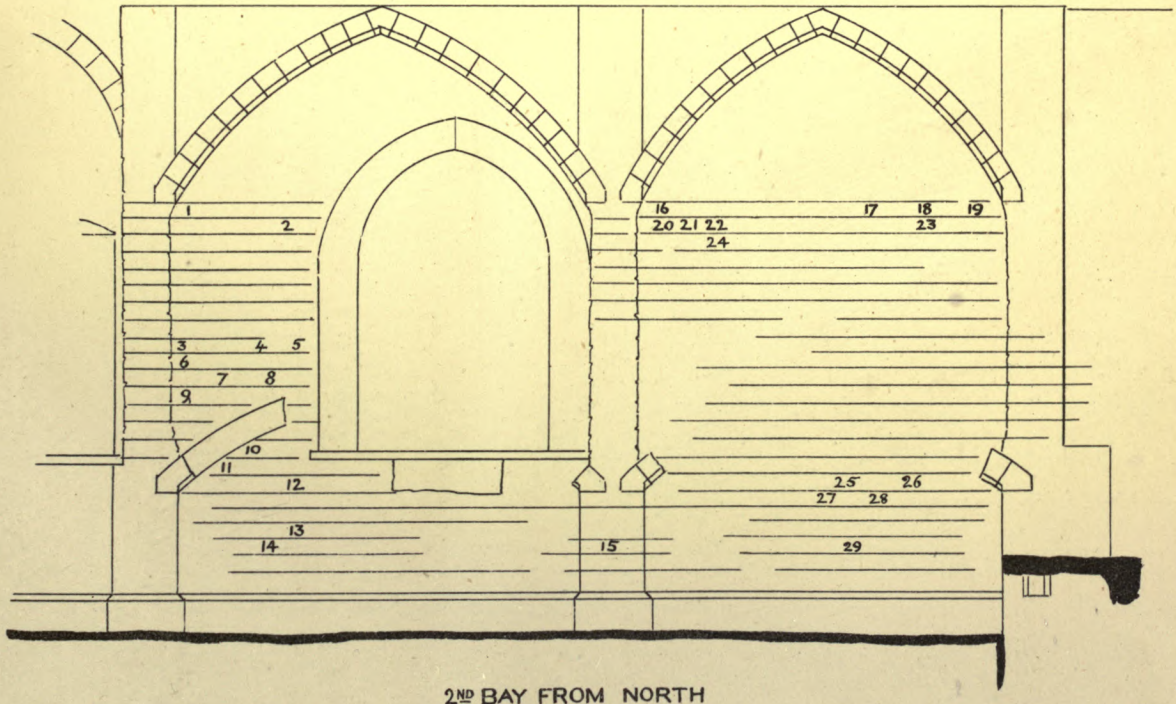
1/16 FULL SIZE. THE FIGURES REFER TO DIAGRAMS.



1ST BAY FROM NORTH

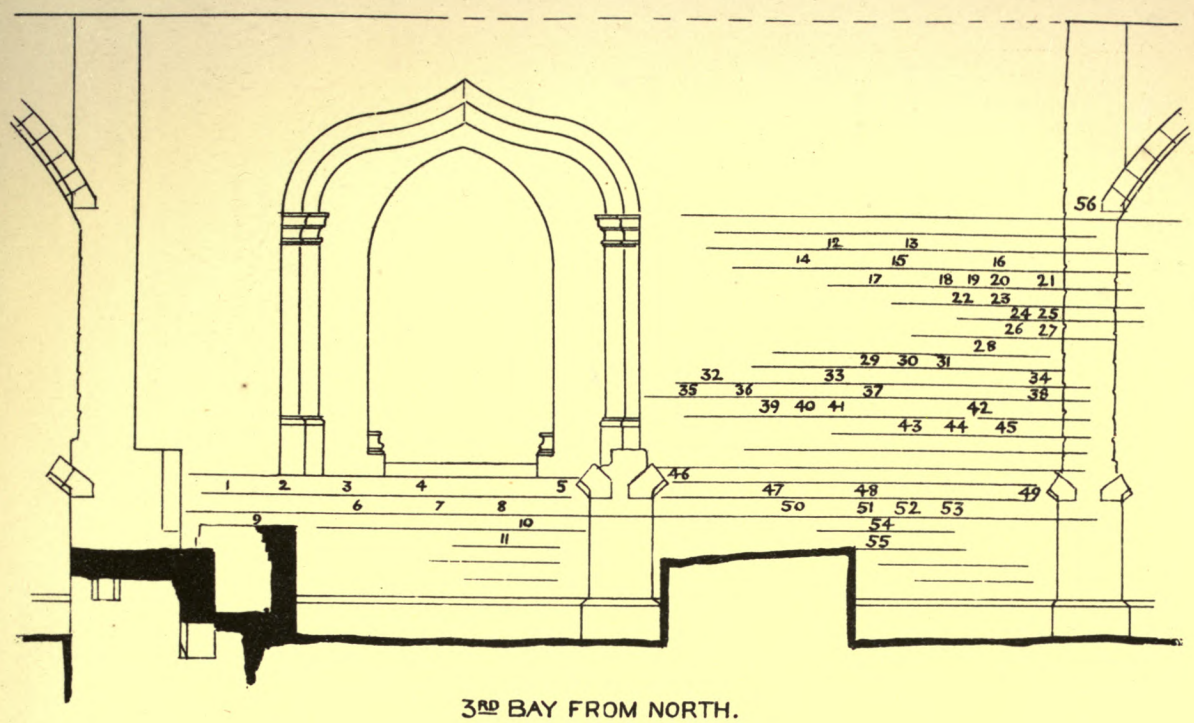
10 5 0 10 20

SCALE 8 FEET TO AN INCH.

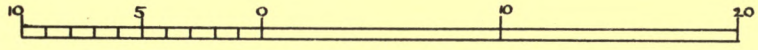


2ND BAY FROM NORTH

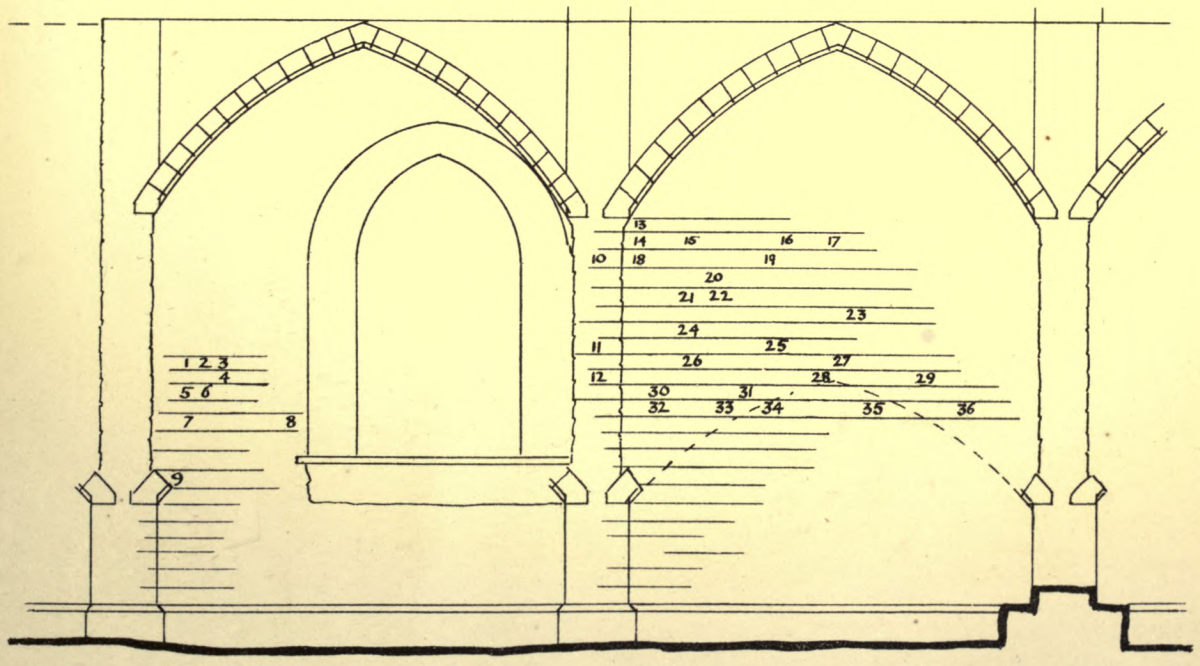
WESTMINSTER HALL, WEST SIDE.
POSITIONS OF THE MASONS' MARKS.



3RD BAY FROM NORTH.

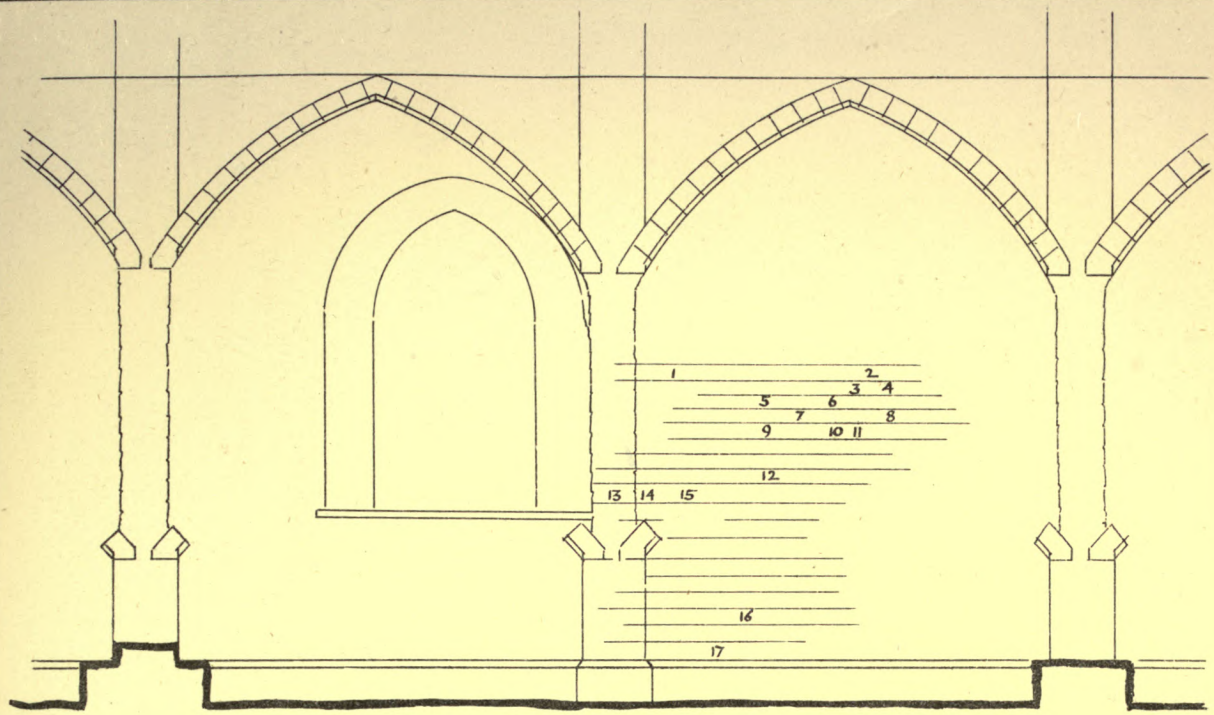


SCALE 8 FEET TO AN INCH.

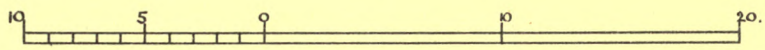


4TH BAY FROM NORTH.

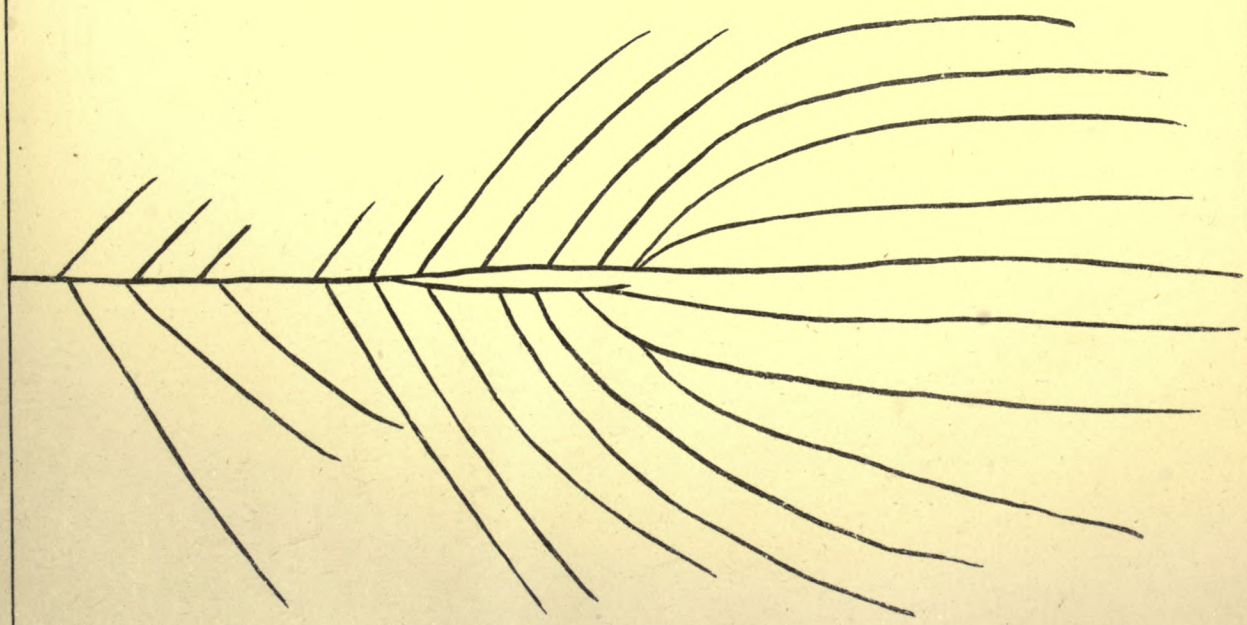
WESTMINSTER HALL, WEST SIDE.
POSITIONS OF THE MASONS' MARKS.



5TH BAY FROM NORTH.



SCALE 8 FEET TO AN INCH.



No. 15 2ND BAY FROM NORTH.

WESTMINSTER HALL, WEST SIDE.
POSITIONS OF THE MASONS' MARKS AND DRAWINGS
OF No. 15 2ND BAY.

in the cathedral churches of Winchester and Ely. I found the same mark on the early portions of the St. Sibald's church at Nuremberg, and upon the cathedral church of St. Stephen at Vienna; and, last autumn, happening to be present when they were uncovering a portion of the wall of Servius Tullius at Rome, I found the same mark there. I have also seen it at Constantinople and in Asia Minor. It was explained to me by a gentleman who had some knowledge upon the subject, that the frequency of the use of the arrow-head was due to the ease with which it could be made, but I cannot say that this explanation approves itself to me; on the contrary, upon examining the marks here it will be observed that they must have been works of considerable care.

On the other hand, I have examined many buildings in Normandy of the same date as English Norman with but poor success. The hall of the Exchequer of Normandy in the castle at Caen bears on a small scale a great likeness to what must have been the Westminster Hall of William Rufus; but I cannot say with certainty that I traced any mark upon it, though I think I detected on one stone the arrow-head. In a desecrated church in a farmyard at Taon, near Caen, I found a double-headed arrow had been cut upon the inner face of a stone which would have been invisible had the church been perfect; and it may be that this was the practice of the French Norman masons, as it certainly was a method occasionally adopted by the English masons in the thirteenth century. The church of Taon, although Norman, is not a very early specimen.

Mr. Street, who has illustrated his book upon Spain[a] with pictures of the various cathedral and other churches he visited, has taken notice of the marks there, and observes, that he has been unable to trace any connection between the marks and particular builders; but I cannot say that I altogether agree with him.

I think I traced the same marks upon all the buildings of the same date up the valley of the Ebro; and I certainly came to the conclusion that the buildings had been built by gangs of workmen that followed from one place to another, using their marks as they went. These marks may be found in many of our parish churches, and it is much to be regretted that one of the first acts of a modern church restorer is to neatly dress the stone, and so obliterate them.

I propose to place at the disposal of the Society the negatives of the photographs exhibited, for the purpose of preserving a representation of the state of the hall at present. Mr. Somers Clarke has also prepared a plan showing where

[a] *Some Account of Gothic Architecture in Spain.* London: John Murray. 1869.

the masons' marks were situated; and he has given me the rubbings of the masons' marks, which also I hope to be allowed to place at the disposal of the Society.

I would draw particular attention to one mark, which looks like a tree or birch rod. If this is, as I believe it is, a genuine mark, there is only one that I know of at all like it, and that is at Sta. Maria Benevente. It is figured in Mr. Street's work before mentioned.

II.—*A Note on the Hall of William Rufus at Westminster.* *By* J. T. Micklethwaite, *F.S.A.*

Read December 13, 1883.

The demolition of the law courts on the west side of Westminster Hall, and the consequent exposure of all that is left of the ancient work there, are my excuse for bringing forward now a matter which by itself would scarcely deserve to be made the subject of a communication to the Society. For I have not to tell of any great discovery, but to comment upon evidence which exists for the most part only in the shape of drawings of work now destroyed.

The plan of the palace before the great fire shows two principal apartments besides the hall and St. Stephen's chapel, which two were known in late times as the Painted Chamber and the Court of Requests. The Painted Chamber was connected by tradition with the name of Edward the Confessor, and, although itself a work of the thirteenth century, it stood over a vault of the same type as those which still remain at Westminster abbey, and which are attributed to the Confessor's time. We may, therefore, accept the tradition which makes this room part of his palace, and its size, 82 feet by 28 feet, was enough for it to have been the hall. But it may be, as some have thought, that the Court of Requests represented the original hall, the Painted Chamber being the withdrawing room or *thalamus* belonging to it. If it were so, the Confessor's hall was probably of wood, which is not unlikely in itself: for the remains exposed by the fire showed this room to have been later than his time, but still too near to it for us to suppose it to be a rebuilding of any stone hall erected by him. I should rather suppose it to have been part of the work of William Rufus, and intended to be the withdrawing room to his great hall, although it did not communicate with it directly.

However this may be, the great hall, certainly his work, changed the front of the palace and became itself the centre of future works. To this day we are reminded of the change by the names of Old Palace Yard to the south, and New Palace Yard to the north.

The complete transformation of the hall in the fourteenth century, and its "restoration" in the nineteenth, have not left anything now to be seen of William's work, except some plain walling on the west side lately exposed, and probably destined not to remain so long. But in 1836 and 1837 our then Fellow, Mr. Sidney Smirke, communicated to the Society several papers of careful observations made by himself during the "restoration" then going on under the direction of his brother, Sir Robert Smirke. These papers are printed in the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh volumes of *Archaeologia*, and are illustrated by some excellent engravings from Mr. Smirke's drawings, which themselves still remain in our library. It appeared that when the hall was altered in the fourteenth century the old walls were left standing, but they were everywhere cased with new work, and the positions of the windows changed. In the "restoration" this casing was stripped off, and the anatomy of the walls laid bare and dissected. Mr. Smirke was thus able to make an elevation of the east side of the hall as it was in the twelfth century. The drawing, which we have, is an excellent one,[a] and shows exactly how much of the work was found actually in position, and that is enough to satisfy us as to the general correctness of the restoration. And Mr. Smirke tells us that the west side was the same, and supplied evidence where it was wanting on the east. The irregularity of the design makes this correspondence of the opposite sides rather remarkable, but it is not without parallel in other buildings of the Norman period.

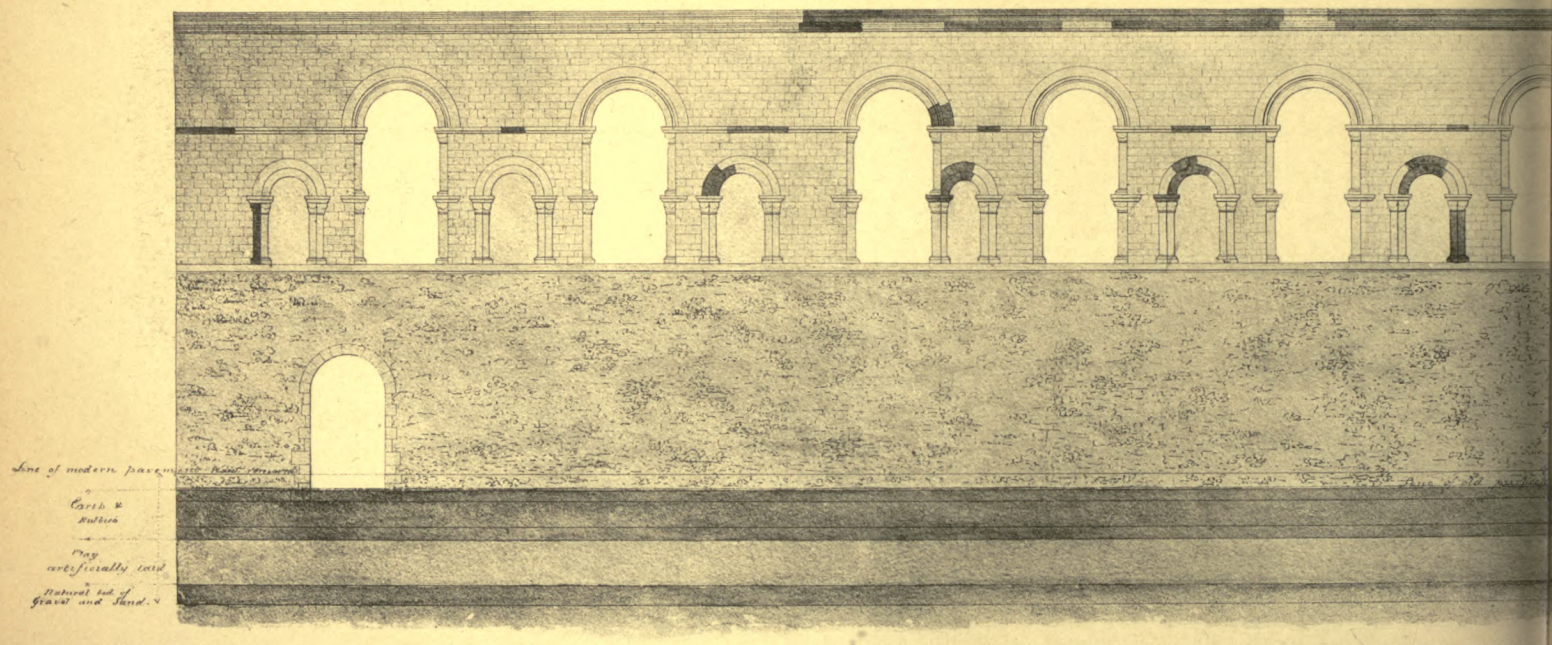
Mr. Smirke says of his restoration: "The remarkable irregularity in the position of the smaller arches would scarcely be supposed possible, if the evidence of it were not decisive and indisputable; but I must own myself at a loss to account for such apparently gratuitous deviations from uniformity; although it is possible that the situation of adjacent pre-existing buildings, or perhaps indeed some internal arrangements of the hall, of which we have now no knowledge, may have caused the anomaly."[b] It is difficult to understand how external buildings,

[a] It is engraved in *Archaeologia*, vol. xxvii. plate xii. and the only fault to be found with the engraving is that no scale is given with it, a defect which is the more inconvenient because the engraver has drawn it to no recognised scale, thinking only of fitting his plate. Three quarters of an inch more in length, for which there is room, would have made it one-sixteenth of an inch to a foot.

[b] *Archaeologia*, xxvii. pp. 185-6.

LONGITUDINAL SECTI

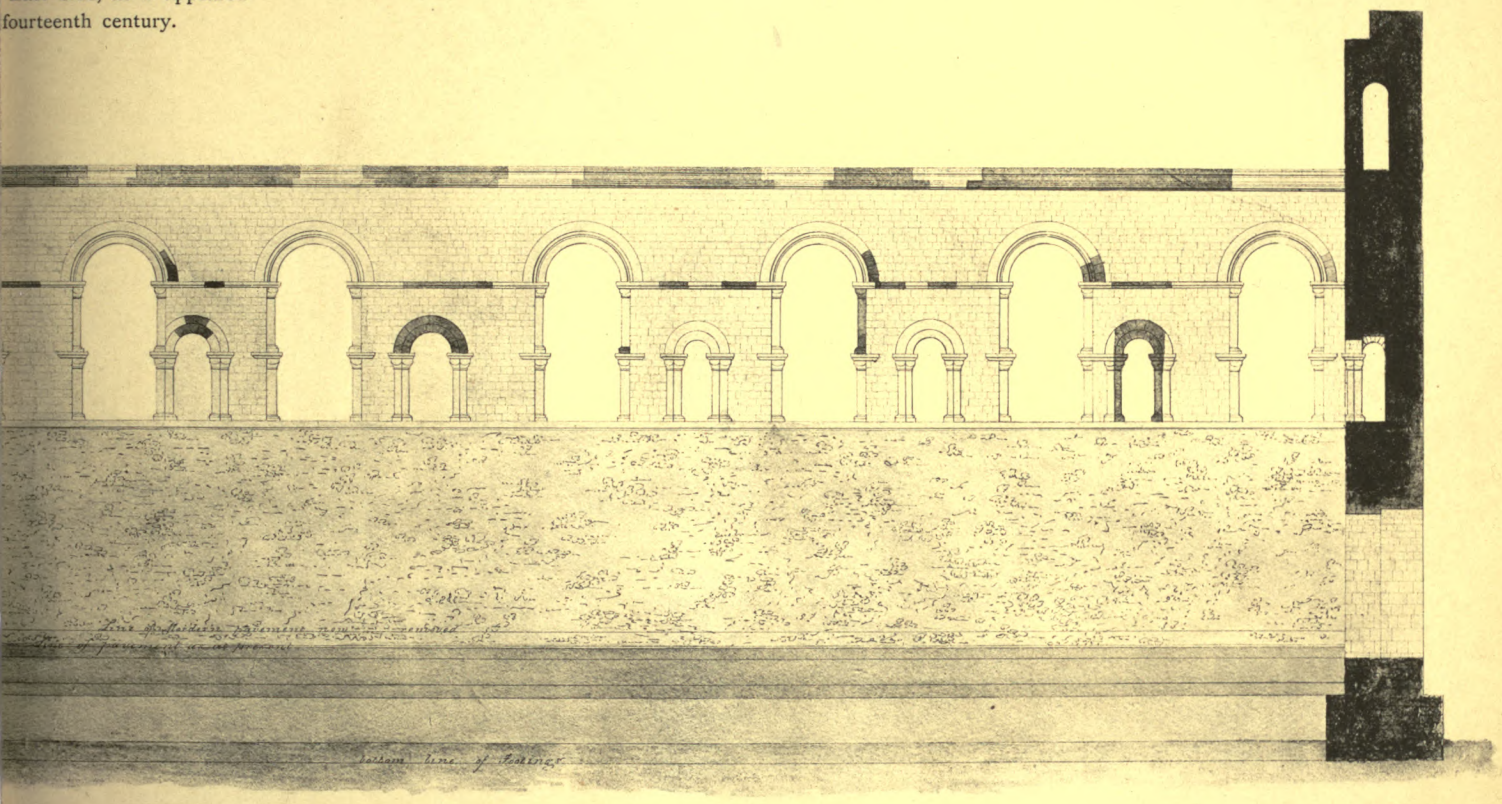
Shewing a conjectural rest
previous to the alte



The portions of stone-work distinguished by a darker tint, are those which were found *in situ*, and which suggested the restoration of the remaining parts. Additional evidence was afforded by similar portions of the opposite side.

WESTMINSTER HALL.

East Side, as it appeared
fourteenth century.



nth of an inch to a foot.

From a Drawing by Mr. SYDNEY SMIRKE.

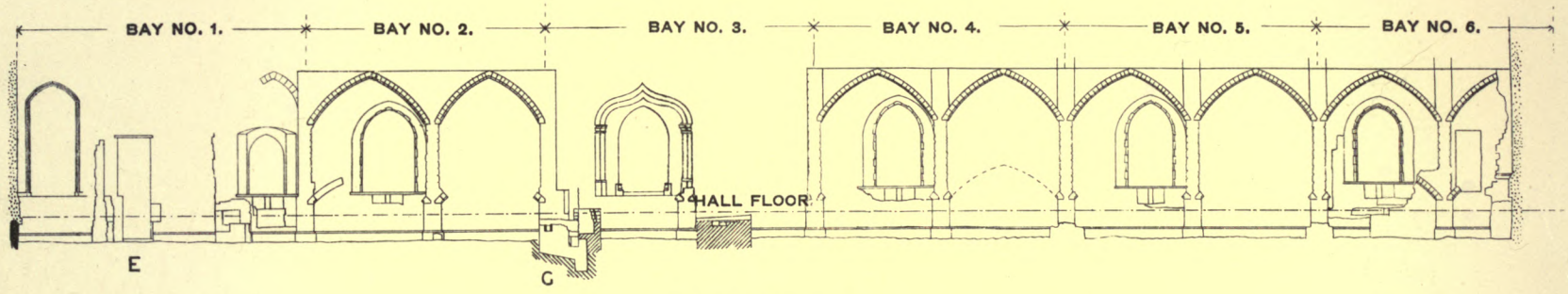
or even the internal arrangements of the hall, could have caused irregularity in merely decorative arches high up on the inside as these are. But the fact is, and it is curious it should have escaped Mr. Smirke's notice when he put his restoration on paper, that these smaller arches are not irregular. Beginning at the north end, the first nine of the small arches are spaced at as nearly equal distances from centre to centre as we should expect to find in work of the time. The next two are placed conjecturally, no old stones remaining to mark their position; but if we continue the same spacing as before across them, we reach the centre of the southernmost, which remained almost perfect. The spacing of these arches agrees with that of the buttresses lately uncovered on the west side, but the centres are not opposite to one another; and this, whilst it confirms Mr. Smirke's statement as to the correspondence of the two sides, shows that it must not be interpreted too strictly.

The larger arches alternated with the smaller, but without order in their spacing, which gives to the elevation that appearance of arbitrary irregularity which Mr. Smirke remarked; and I am no more able to explain it than he was. As these arches marked windows, their positions were most likely ruled by causes outside the building. But, as they were found to be spaced irregularly, whilst the smaller and comparatively insignificant arches between them were regular, it appears to be almost certain that the two are not parts of the same design. An architect of the eleventh or twelfth century would not have hesitated to put his windows at unequal distances if the circumstances of his building seemed to call for it; but if he wished to add decorative arches between them he would have put them in the middle of the piers. It is incredible that he should have taken the trouble to space them equally amongst themselves with the result of giving confusion to the whole design. And further, the windows did not agree in their spacing with the original buttresses as they have been found to be on the west side of the hall, and they must in some cases have encroached upon them. We are then driven to the conclusion that, either during the building or soon after it was finished, the design was changed and the large windows introduced, the walls being raised to receive them. It looks as if the walls had at first been about as high as the upper string shown in Mr. Smirke's drawing, and that then the windows were either in the small arches which he found, or, what is more likely, in similar but rather taller and wider arches placed between them and destroyed when the larger windows were inserted. I think we may see the cause of the change in the small size of the first windows, which would have made the hall very

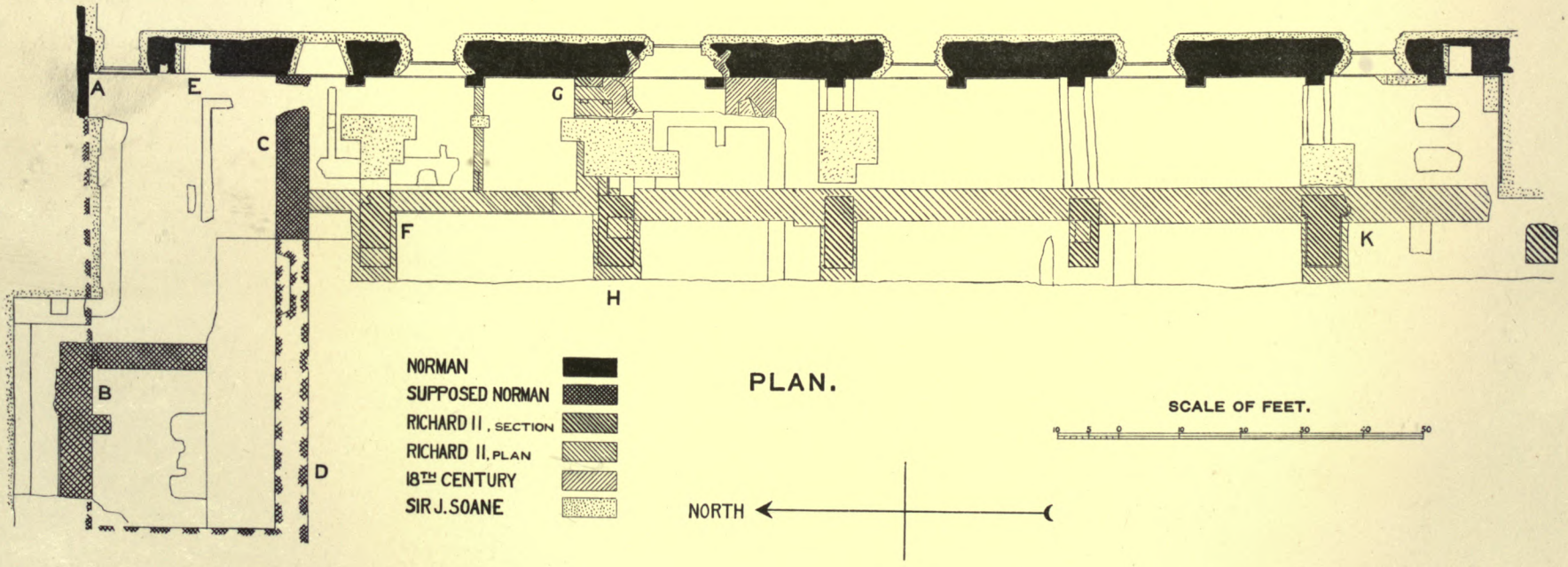
dark unless helped by a clerestory, for the existence of which there is no evidence, but rather the contrary.

We learn from Matthew Paris that the hall was used for the first time in 1099, and that when some one criticised it as being too large the king made his boast that it was not half big enough, and was a mere *thalamus* to the *palatium* which he would build. Now there is no real evidence that he ever began any such larger hall, and his death in the following year would prevent him from doing more than begin it. But the information which Mr. Smirke has preserved for us seems rather to show that he may have contented himself with raising the walls and roof of the hall already built. The change with the insertion of the larger windows would be a very great one. The hall would then be one not easily matched. It was the same size on plan as now. It has indeed been said, and I have seen it repeated lately, that the hall was lengthened in the fourteenth century; but Mr. Smirke's papers prove the existence of the original Norman work at both sides and at both ends.

The accompanying plate has been reduced from Mr. Smirke's original drawing in the possession of the Society.



ELEVATION.



PLAN.

SCALE OF FEET.

ELEVATION AND GROUND PLAN
OF THE WEST SIDE OF WESTMINSTER HALL

III.—*The west side of Westminster Hall.* *By* Somers Clarke, *F.S.A.*

Read December 13, 1883.

In this paper I hardly venture to go beyond the statement of notes made upon the site by the permission of the Chief Commissioner of Works; and a comparison therewith of such plans, drawings, or other sources of information as I could obtain access to. The information I have been able to get together has made it clear that there is yet more to be got; indeed, the evidence to be afforded by the building itself and the ground to be excavated about it has not yet been exhausted.

It is to Mr. Freshfield's ever ready interest that we are indebted for photographs of the west side of the Hall. These were taken at his instance, and are of great value, showing as they do in a most accurate manner the condition of each bay and the general appearance of the building after the side was laid bare. The photographs, copies of which are in our library, are referred to hereafter, and numbered to agree with the numberings of the bays of the hall, shown on plate II.

In vol. iii. of the collection of Sir C. Wren's drawings in the library at All Souls college, Oxford, may be found drawings relating to Westminster Hall of much value. The drawings relating to St. Paul's cathedral church are well known, but in addition to these are sundry others, showing works, projected or carried out, at Hampton Court, Windsor Castle, St. James' and Kensington Palaces, the Houses of Lords and Commons, and other public buildings. The plans nos. 10 and 11 in vol. iii. are described as of "Old Record Room, at Westminster." These plans are of considerable size and drawn to scale; the walls of Westminster Hall itself, the abutments of the buttresses, and the walls joining them, are tinted yellow to distinguish them from the more recent additions. There can be no doubt that

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they both represent the first-floor level of the range of rooms abutting against the west wall of the Hall. The differences between them are slight.[a] By the permission of the college exact copies of these have been made, and presented by Mr. Freshfield to our library. In addition to these drawings are others, numbered 17 and 21. These are, in fact, of greater interest than the foregoing, having on them many original notes and measurements. They are clearly the originals from which nos. 10 and 11 were drawn out. They show more completely the position of the windows, etc. in the west wall of the building attached to the west of the hall, the foundations of which are revealed by the recent excavations.

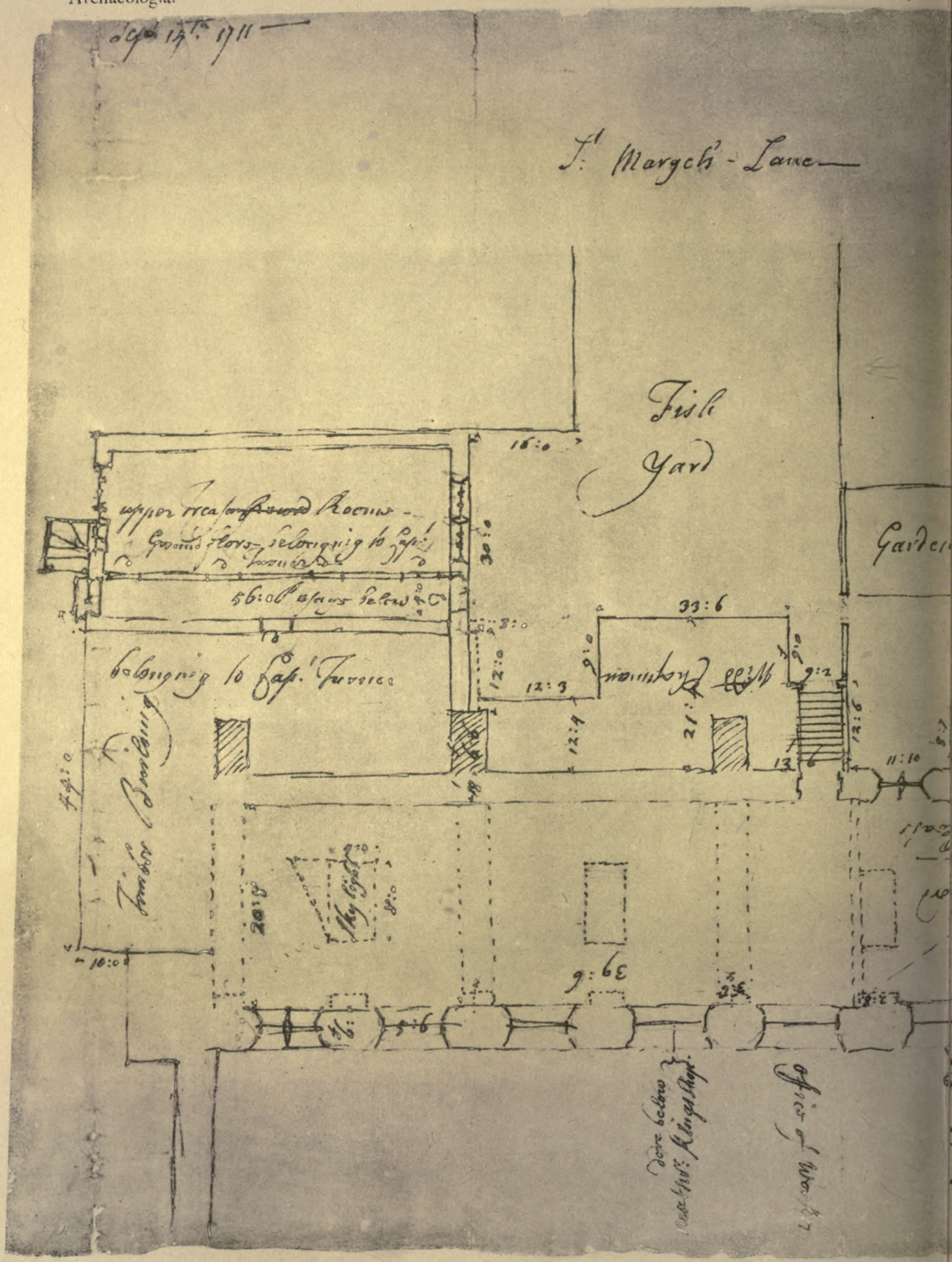
Although drawings nos. 10 and 11 are not dated, in the corner of no. 17, that forming Plate III., will be found, "Sept. 14th 1711." On this is shown the first-floor plan of the range of rooms under the buttresses, many of them lit by skylights. A note, "dore below next Mr. King's shop," gives us further evidence that we are dealing with an upper floor.

Drawing no. 16 (Plate IV.), which is to a larger scale than the preceding, bears the date "1712," and shows the ground-floor of certain rooms on the south side of the Fish Yard, and of the western end of the range of rooms before referred to. This drawing is covered with notes.

Drawing no. 21 (Plate V.), to a small scale, shows the first-floor plan of all this range of rooms; and is, in fact, so much like drawings 10 and 11, that it has not been thought requisite to reproduce them here. It bears numerous notes of considerable interest, especially with regard to the windows. Plans 10 and 11 may upon the evidence of these drawings be dated *circa* 1712. For some reason most of the windows in this range of rooms under the buttresses seem to have been closed, and numbers of skylights inserted in the roof.

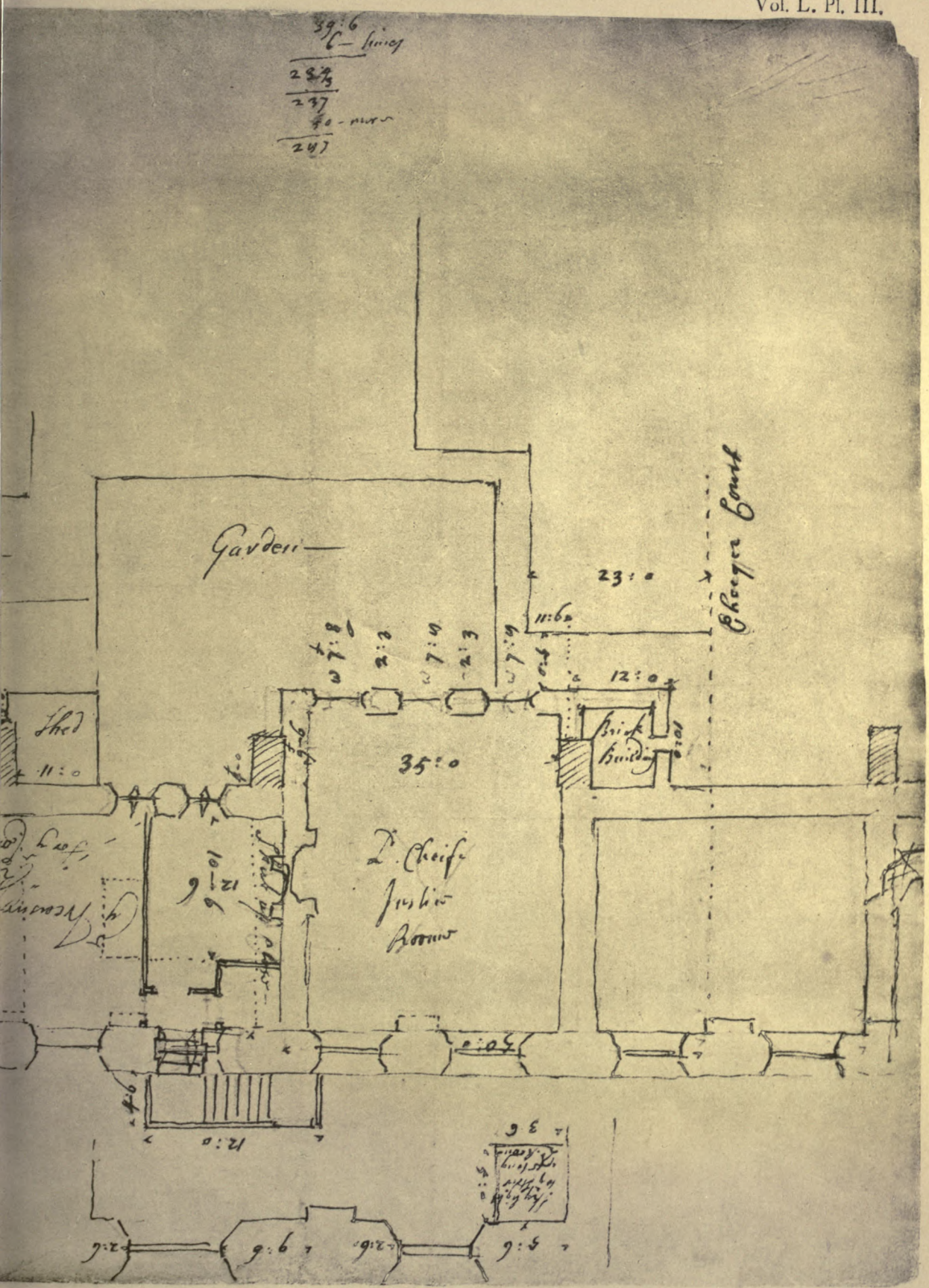
Another source of information is a plan in our library. It is drawn in pencil, and on the back is written a reference to Mr. Capon's engraved plan, vol. v. *Vetusta Monumenta.* It seems that this plan is, in some respects at least, an original, from which the engraved plan is compiled. The engraved plan bears on its face a statement that it was measured and drawn between 1793 and 1823. There are also three or four pages of notes and remarks accompanying it.

[a] These plans have been reprodnced to a smaller scale in the "Report, Westminster Hall Restoration. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 27th April, 1885," and are numbered 18. The date of *circa* 1680, which is assigned to these plans, must be incorrect, as will be seen by the dates actually written on the fac-similes of drawings nos. 17, 21, vol. iii. Wren collection, which accompany this paper. (Plates III. and V.)



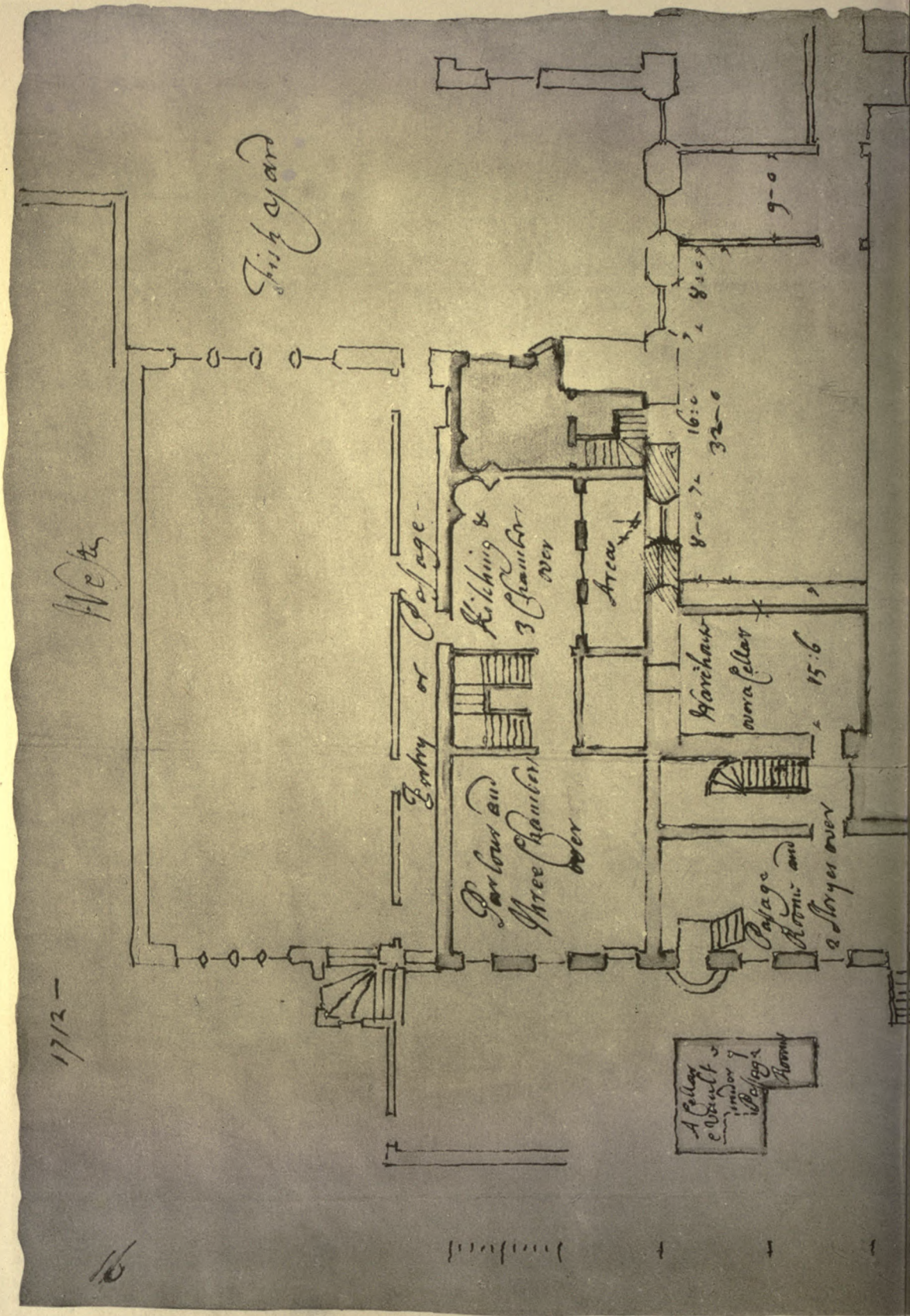
PLAN OF THE WEST SIDE OF WE

(Wren 17.—From the Wren Coll



NSTER HALL.—FIRST FLOOR.

l Souls College, Oxford.)



PLAN OF PART OF THE W

(Wren 16.—From the Wr

SIDE OF WESTMINSTER HALL.

ion, All Souls College, Oxford.)

A comparison of the plans at All Souls college with that in our library shows some variations of considerable interest.

In the Crace collection at the British Museum, amongst the plans, portfolio XI. is a drawing of value, as it is dated and bears the following: "Apl. 2nd 1795. Copy of Mr. Soane's plan del[d] to Mr. Harrison at the land revenue office this day by Tho[s] Chawner."

This plan is in many respects the same as that in pencil in our library; but being, as it is, partly tinted and "written to," it becomes a more valuable document.

A general plan of the buildings lying around Westminster abbey, and between it and Westminster Hall, is reproduced in fac-simile on Plate VI. from a drawing in the Wren collection, vol. iii. no. 42. This plan is dated June 8, 1716, and is drawn to scale. With the exception of the plan in Sandford's *History of the Coronation of James II.*[a] it is probably the earliest-dated plan of the neighbourhood. It shows the gates leading into New Palace yard and St. Margaret's Lane, and the complete state of inclosure of the west side of Westminster hall.

There are other maps and plans which show the arrangement of the west side before the recently-demolished law courts were built, and some of Soane's, published in the most handy form in Brayley and Britton's *Westminster*.[b]

There are many engravings extant which have been consulted, chiefly of the front of Westminster Hall, but I have not found any to throw much light on the part under consideration. It is clear that for a vast length of time this side has been more or less enclosed in a series of courts and back yards. Indeed there can be little doubt that it was so from the first. It seems that we are going quite away from the original intention of the builders in throwing open the whole side of the hall. Its very office as a hall, judging by the way in which we know that portion of a residence to have been used, would suggest that it was always more or less surrounded by buildings.

A good plan to a small scale is shown in Smith's *Antiquities of Westminster*, facing p. 125. It shows the general disposition of the adjacent buildings previous to the construction of the law courts recently removed.

From documentary evidence we must now pass to that afforded by the remains as they show themselves at the present moment. These remains as they stand are the more interesting, from the fact that whilst teeming with evidence of many

[a] *History of the Coronation of James II.* by Francis Sandford, 1687.

[b] The Parliamentary *Blue Book* before referred to contains many of these plans.

have in some cases sunk away, to a slight extent, from the Norman work; and where the lower range has been removed the evidence of their previous existence is shown by little else than the presence of the springing stones. They bear a hollow chamfer on the angle. It may be doubted whether this skeleton was ever of much value, but a species of engineering in stone and most wonderfully ingenious was not unfrequently resorted to to strengthen already existing work. The interior of the centre tower at Lichfield, below the spire, and the lantern tower of Lincoln, are notable examples.

Whether the pilaster buttresses were originally carried upwards or whether they were raised by Richard II. is not now easy to tell. The modern recasings have obliterated this part of the history most effectually.

We now find ourselves in front of the hall with its walls two feet higher than before, its new roof, windows, wall thickening, and great buttresses.[a] This, however, was not all. The abutments of the great buttresses were joined together by a continuous wall.

As soon as the abutments were exposed by the recent demolition it became clear by the marks on them that a lead roof had extended back to the wall of the great hall. The returns of the parapet were clearly to be traced, especially on the most southern abutment.

Whether the line of building parallel with the hall was in one or two stories may be questioned.

In the north bay is the jamb of a doorway, E, Plate II., at a very low level, below that of the present hall floor. It is of Norman masonry and at the original floor-level. The lower part of the first abutment, F, has some points not to be explained. The plinth seems, in part, to disappear under it. At its north-east angle is a portion of a window-jamb which appears as though it may be of earlier work than the abutment into which it is now incorporated, and this jamb seems to have undergone a much later alteration.

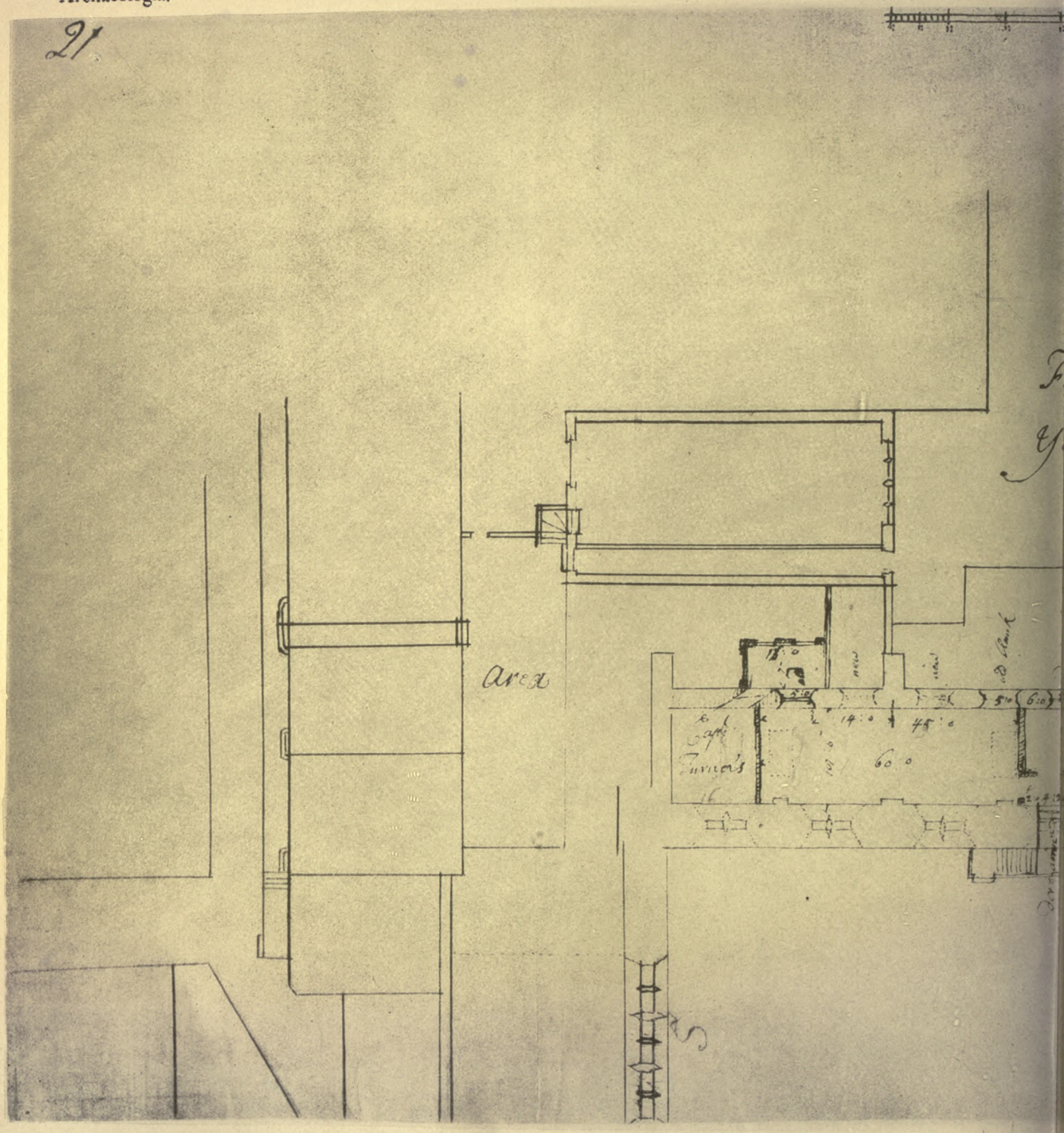
The doorway already mentioned and this window-jamb would lead us fairly to suppose that there was here at least a lower room, as indeed I think there was all along. A doorway also exists in the Norman foundation-wall.

We now come to bay 2.[b] Here, between the abutment of the next buttress and the wall of the hall, there is indication of a descent.[c] Sir C. Wren's plan shows that the wall in the foundation or lower courses of which this opening

[a] See elevation, Plate II.

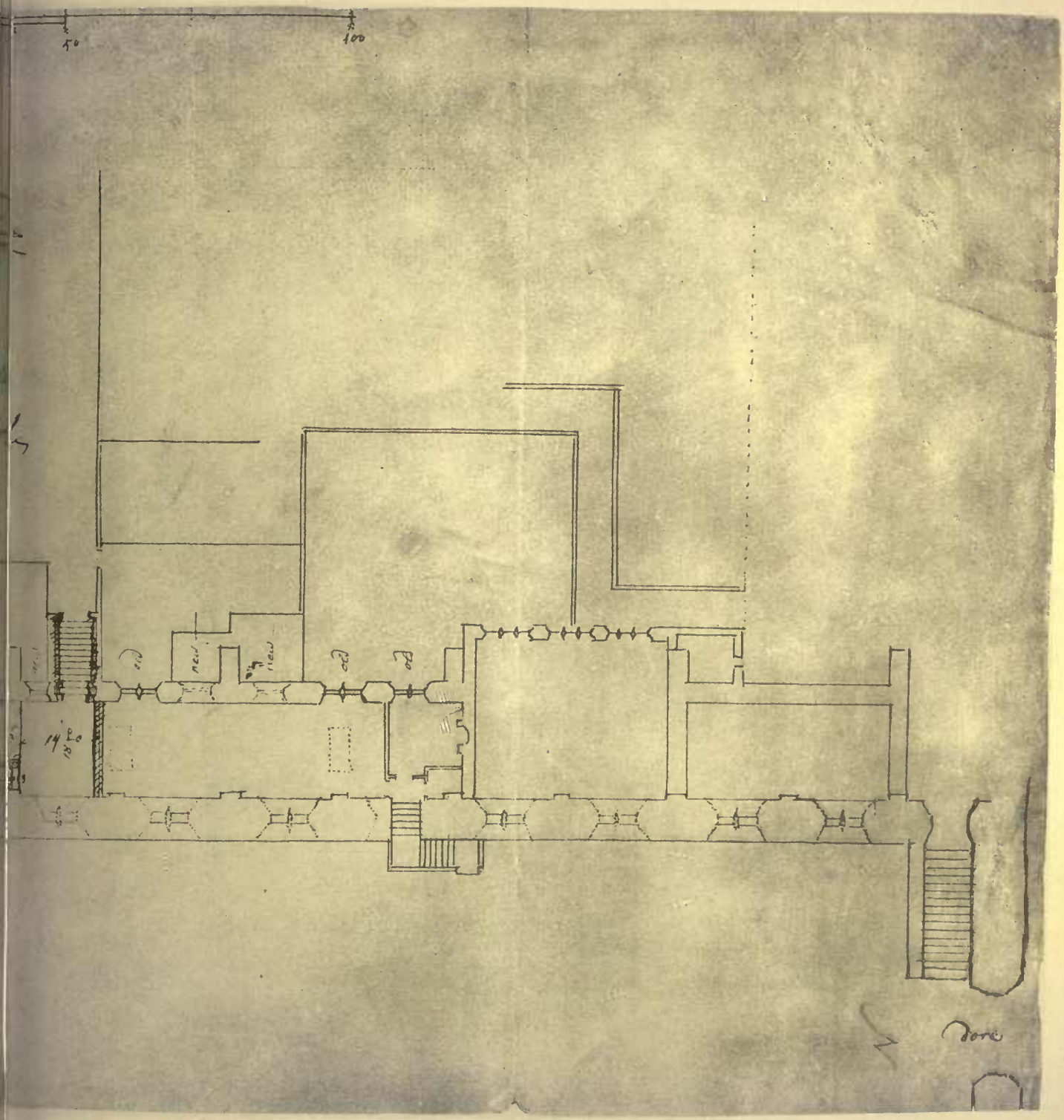
[b] See photograph no. iv.

[c] See photograph no. ix.



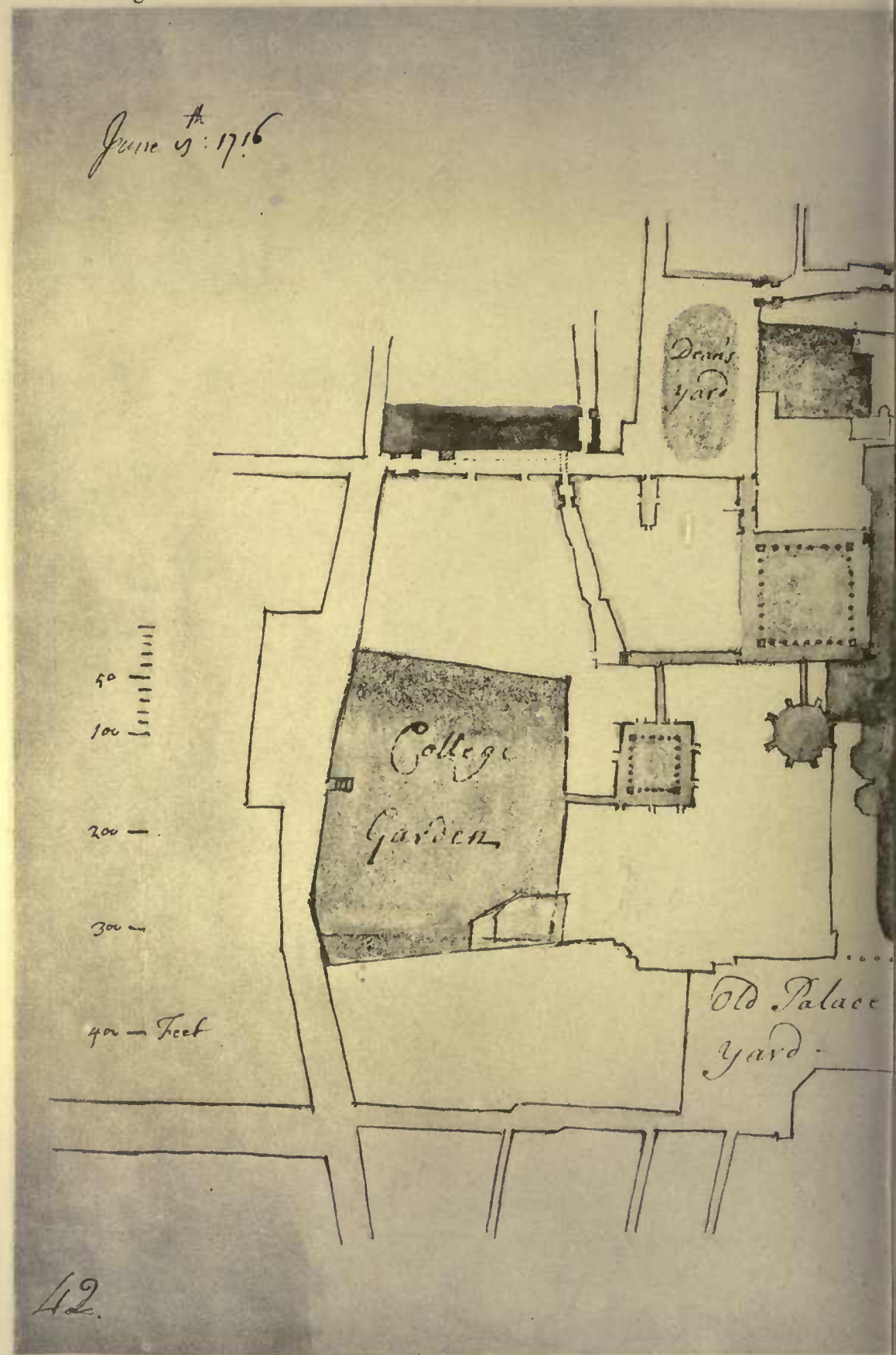
PLAN OF THE FIRST FLOOR OF

(Wren 21.—From the W



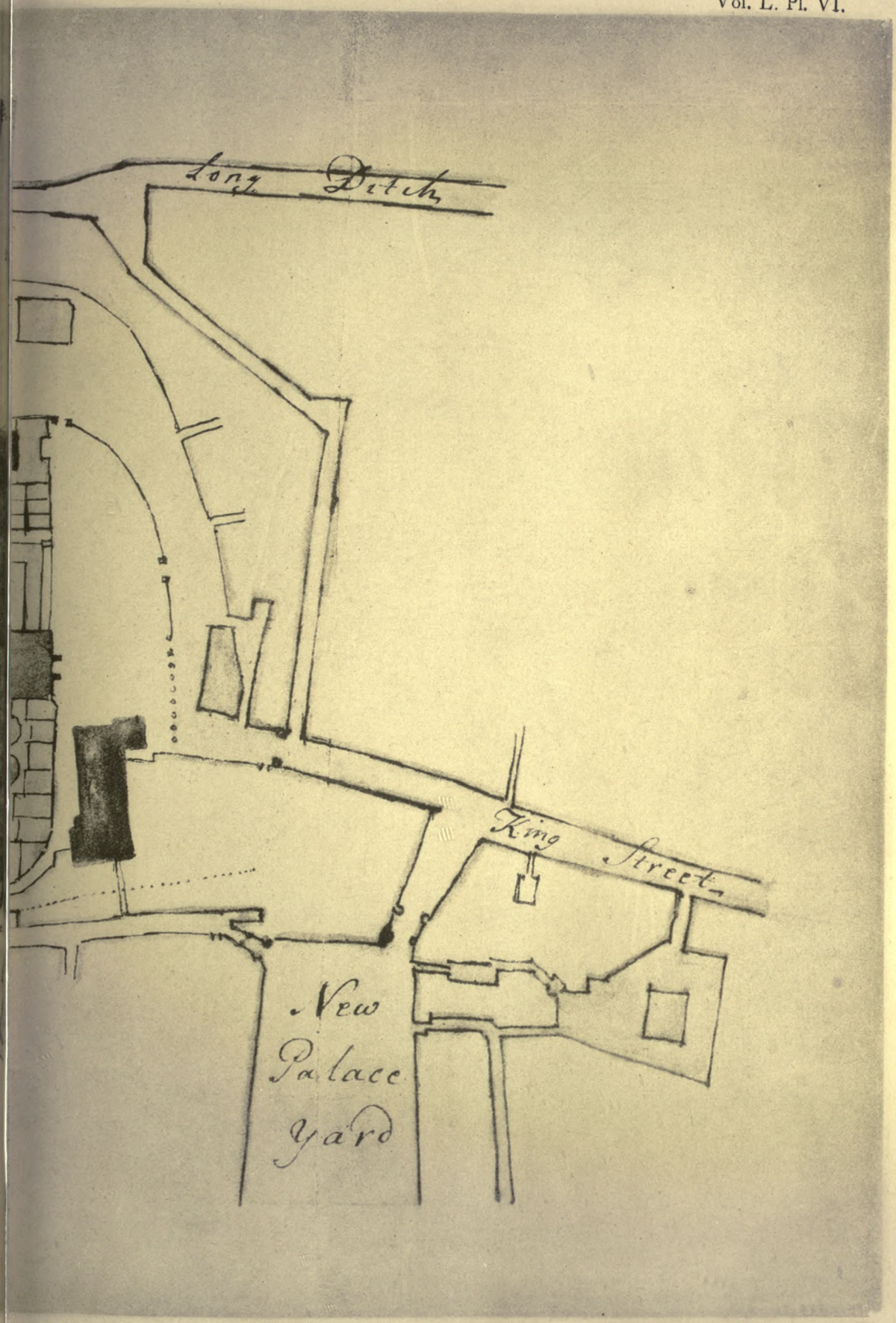
WEST SIDE OF WESTMINSTER HALL.

ection, All Souls College, Oxford.)



GENERAL PLAN SHEWING THE BUILD

(Wren 42.—From the Wren C



ROUND WESTMINSTER HALL IN 1716.

All Souls College, Oxford.)

occurs was standing in his time. It does not come in a line with the abutment, but somewhat to the north. The chamfer of the plinth runs under the buttress. This may, however, be only careless work. The interior of the abutment[a] is hollow. A small round-topped hole gives admission at the bottom. The hollow place extends up to some height, and shows signs of a door. It was doubtless a *garderobe*. The buttress seems to have been so constructed from the first. The structure is, in consequence, terribly shattered in every direction.

Sir C. Wren's plans, nos. 10 and 11, show the west wall of the hall, as also the parallel wall to it, all coloured yellow. It would seem that these plans were prepared so that a scheme could be made out for joining some new work to the old, coloured yellow, the new being tinted in Indian ink. In this second bay from the north the line of west wall is broken, and a large room is shown with three mullioned windows. On drawing no. 17, Wren collection (Plate III.), this is called, "Ye Chief Justices Room." Elsewhere it appears as "Queen Elizabeth's Bedchamber." No access is shown to it.

Bays 3 and 4 are, on Wren's plans, occupied by a long room. It is called, "Ye Treasury Record Room." A large external staircase is shown, leading apparently from what is known as "The old Fish Yard." A small stair leads from the hall. The Norman masonry in bay 3 is much cut about.

In bay 5 a similar stair rises from the hall. A solid wall is shown in Wren's plans (the foundations remain), separating bays 4 and 5, except in no. 17. The extreme south end of the attached building, bay 6, is marked as "Cap. Turner's," and on no. 16 (Plate IV.) is called, "Warehouse over cellar." Indications on no. 17 (Plate III.) also show distinctly that when it was made the building was in two stories. The lower part of the hall wall in the sixth bay is much cut about by insertions of various dates. A splayed jamb runs in to some distance, but to what it may belong is hard to say. The large ogee-headed doorway in the third bay[b] is not shown on Wren's plans.

In a plan made by Thos. Lediard in 1740 the doorway is shown, and gives access to a large room, breaking the general wall line. It is the only doorway shown in the side of the hall. In Fourdrinier's plan, dated 1761, this building is called the New Court.

In Mr. Soane's plan already referred to, dated 1795, this room is called "Court of Common Pleas," and a circular staircase (the remains are now exposed[c]) is shown right and left of the large doorway before mentioned.

[a] On plate II.

[b] See elevation, plate II., and photograph no. 5.

[c] See photograph no. ix.

These staircases also are shown on the pencil plan in our library, but not upon Capon's plan in *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. v. The doorway is of a strange style. The section of the jambs and mouldings is a travestie of classical work. In the apex of the ogee arch is a large Tudor rose, but, to use a favourite modern phrase, very freely treated.

As in the abutment between the second and third, so in that between the fourth and fifth bays, is, as may be assumed, a *garderobe*, evidently a part of the original construction.

The abutment between the fifth and sixth bay shows part of a door jamb (K, Plate II.), but the ashlar immediately above overhangs it.

A small part of the sixth abutment has lately been revealed. This, with its flying buttress, was pulled down when Sir Charles Barry constructed the present beautiful gable which faces Henry VII.'s chapel. The plan in Britton and Brayley shows the abutment as complete.

At the time the lately-demolished law courts were built the side of the hall was very roughly treated. No less than four large doorways were pierced through the massive wall. The ogee-headed doorway was filled in and masked by fresh stonework, and a doorway was also made at the extreme north end of the wall. Mr. Smirke's plate, in *Archaeologia*, vol. XXVII. would, however, lead us to suppose that a Norman door had been here, as it also was in the east wall.

I would suggest the following as the result of the examination of the building. That at the time the hall was brought to its present form, not only were the flying buttresses and their great abutments built, but a wall, rising as high as the sills of the great hall side-windows, was also built at a distance of about 18 feet to the west, and joining these abutments. This wall enclosed a building, probably two stories high, *i. e.* a cellar or low story, and a more important one above. There is no evidence whatever to show what the wall was like.

Sir C. Wren's plans, nos. 16, 17, and 21 (Plates III., IV., and V.), show imperfectly the position of sundry windows, but give no real indication as to their antiquity. We must however fear, that by laying bare what was never intended to have been completely thrown open, a ghost has been raised which can be properly laid only by following the advice of Sir Charles Barry, and completing his beautiful building as an inclosure to the mighty skeleton revealed.

IV.—*Some Remarks upon the Book of Records and History of the Parish of St. Stephen, Coleman Street, in the City of London. By* EDWIN FRESHFIELD, *LL.D., V.P.*

Read February 21st, 1884.

THE original object of the present communication was to present to the Fellows some account of a remarkable Book of Records preserved in the parish church of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, containing, among other interesting particulars, the original constitution under which the parish was governed.

As, however, some other of the parish books presented features of exceptional historical interest, I have taken leave to add, by way of illustration to the paper, some particulars relating to the parish and its inhabitants, gathered from its books.

The parish of St. Stephen, Coleman Street, is one of the most interesting of the peculiar parishes in the city of London. It lies due north of Lothbury, and between it and London Wall. Speaking generally, it is bounded on the west by Coleman Street, on the east by the Drapers' Gardens, on the south by Lothbury, and on the north by London Wall. Until Moorgate Street was driven through it, it was a crowded parish, inhabited principally by poor. The church of St. Stephen's is situated at the south-western end of the parish, and originally there were two graveyards pertaining to it; one near the church, and the other adjoining London Wall. Coleman Street formed, more or less, the western, and the alley running along the outskirts of Drapers' Gardens the eastern, boundary; and from Coleman Street to this alley there was a series of cross alleys—Great Bell Alley, Little Bell Alley, Swan Alley, and several others—each so narrow that a horse and cart could not pass through it. The parish was, until the end of the reign of King

Henry VI., a portion of the parish of St. Olave's Jewry, and St. Stephen's church was a chapel for that parish. It remained in this condition until quite the end of that reign, when the district was made a vicarage and the chapel a parish church. It is impossible to tell accurately the number of the population, but I should say that during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it was about 4,000.

The vicarage was, together with the rectory of St. Olave's, in the gift of the priors of Butley, in Suffolk. It passed to the Crown upon the suppression of the monastery, and is now in the gift of the parishioners, having been granted to them by Queen Elizabeth in the thirty-second year of her reign.

The first vicar was William Pawle, who was appointed in 1457, and he continued until the 14th October, 1459, when William Leeke was appointed. The Record Book, the foundation of this communication, was commenced in Mr. Leeke's time; and, therefore, just after the parish had been created. The account books commence within a few years of the same time, and to this extent the books are unique. Unfortunately, they are not continuous.

The Parish Registers commence in King Henry VIII.'s reign, and are written in the same handwriting as certain additions to the Record Book, which were made in that reign. They are beautifully kept; the oldest being a paper book.

The earliest Vestry Minute Book now in existence dates from the early part of the seventeenth century.

Among the vicars of the parish was Sir Richard Kettell, who was vicar in the latter part of King Henry VIII.'s reign, and continued throughout the reigns of Edward VI. and Queen Mary, and died in the year 1563, the fifth year of Queen Elizabeth. He must, in some respects, have exceeded in versatility the Vicar of Bray. During his time the registers were kept, as it seems to me, in his handwriting. The penmanship is most excellent, and forms a striking contrast to some of the later productions.

Mr. John Davenport, who was vicar from 1624 to 1633, was also a remarkable person. The following is a condensed account of him, taken from Newcourt. "Mr. Davenport was educated at Oxford. He left that university without a degree, retired to London, became a noted preacher among the Puritans, and vicar of St. Stephen's parish. He returned to Oxford in 1625, and took his degree, and then returned to London, and remained at St. Stephen's until 1633, when he resigned the vicarage under pretence of opposition from the prelates, because he scrupled at certain ceremonies. From London he went to Amsterdam, where he quarrelled with one of the resident clergy there upon the subject of baptism. In the beginning of the Rebellion he returned to England, and had a

cure bestowed on him; but, finding matters not to go current with his humour, he, by the persuasive letters of Mr. J. Cotton, of New England, went to that country, and became pastor of New Haven there, where he continued in great esteem, till the time almost of his death, with those of his persuasion. He died at Boston, in New England, March 13th, 1669."

I have given this history at length, because it accounts for the fact that many Americans visit St. Stephen's by reason of Mr. Davenport's connection with the parish.

I shall have occasion to mention another vicar, Mr. John Goodwin, who succeeded Mr. Davenport.

The Book of Records commences with a calendar. In addition to the usual saints' days, it specifies some days of interest to the parish. The word "Pope" has been struck out in those places in which it occurred, in the time of Henry VIII., and the commemoration of St. Thomas of Canterbury has been carefully erased.

In one instance, St. Silvester's day, the word "Pope" has been reinserted over the erasure made when it was taken out. This was done in Queen Mary's reign, and was probably occasioned by the obit kept on that day. There were several other obits kept in the church, and the days of two of them are specified in the calendar.

On the page following the calendar there is this heading:

"The inventory of the goods of the church of St. Stephen's, in Coleman Street, of London, written the year of Our Lord one thousand four hundred and sixty-six."

This inventory, which will be found in the appendix, is divided into different headings, descriptive of the different articles; thus: jewels, latten, pewter, missals, vestments, altar-cloths, cloths of work, towels of work, hangings for the altar, &c.

At the end of the inventory is written:

"This book, written by Thomas FitzJohn, some time clerk of this parish, in the month of August, in the year of Our Lord one thousand four hundred and sixty-six; then being vicar Mr. William Leeke, John Flacher and John Bacon, churchwardens."

Next follows, in a different handwriting, "The inventory of the goods, jewels, and ornaments of the parish church of St. Stephen's, in Coleman Street, of London, hereafter specified, named, and written, the twenty-fifth day of the month of June, in the year of Our Lord God a thousand five hundred and forty-two, and in the thirty-fourth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord, King

Henry VIII.; then being vicar Sir Richard Kettyll, Bachelor-of-Law; Robert Smith (mercer), and William Bradford (tallow-chandler), churchwardens: to the intent that the two parish clerks of the same church shall have charge and keeping of them at all times hereafter; shall be ready and deliver again, or do to be delivered to the said vicar and churchwardens, or to their successors, all the same goods, jewels, and ornaments, when they or either of them shall be thereto required."

This inventory, which will also be found in the appendix, is divided into similar heads to the earlier inventory.

In the earlier list I observe, among the books, an entry in the margin, "Nota sold"; and on looking at the books that are sold it appears that they were all those "not Salisbury." The "Nota sold" is in the handwriting of the period of King Henry VIII. This appears in two places, and points to the time, in the latter part of the reign of King Henry VIII., when a first attempt was made to establish a uniformity by restricting the use, as far as possible, to the Salisbury use.

There is nothing particular in the list of the goods in the time of King Henry VIII. save the fact that the number, as will be seen, is extremely diminished; the former list extended over fourteen leaves of parchment, the latter only over four.

The book has been kept without any regard to continuity. The entries were made as room was found, and some of the earliest entries are found mixed with much later documents. Some of them are such as are common to all city parishes: The assessment made after the great fire; Particulars of the boundaries of the parish; Queen Elizabeth's grant of the right of presentation; Various opinions of counsel; and several wills. In addition however to these there are some ordinances of interest and a copy of the award made when the parishes were divided.

This paper does not pretend to do more than draw attention to these documents, but I have selected the most interesting and have placed them in the appendix.

The first entry of interest consists of "the constitution and ordinances of choosing the churchwardens." This occupies half a page, and states that which is now well known as the custom of London with regard to the election of churchwardens. The ordinance was set forth "because of variance and division that hath been of long continuance among the parishioners." The churchwardens and the parishioners were to be summoned together annually on the Sunday before

the feast of the exaltation of the Holy Cross (September 14th), after matins, and they were to choose one churchwarden to him that had been last chosen the year before. This entry, which is set out in the appendix, was I believe written in the reign of King Edward IV.

The next entry relates to the sexton's duty, and is in a handwriting which can easily be identified as that of a scribe in the latter part of the reign of King Henry VIII.

Then follow the duties of the two clerks.

After this there is an interesting sanitary minute of the date of King Edward IV., which will be found in the appendix, but from its quaintness I refer to it here. "Ofte tymys it is seene that a syngler ꝑfette hyrtyth and harmyth a comyn wele. And for cause mychе of the pepyll be sette so nowgh a dayes wenyng hem selfe that they do well when they hyrte hẽselfe and alle ther neyghburse semying they do a werke of mercye or pitye and it is not soo but her singler avayl or else they wolde not do hitte that they will receyve men and women and children yonge and olde of other ꝑissches than ther owne infect in pestilence the which sekenes evry man escheweth. Therefore we beyng rewlers and gou'nerse of the ꝑissch of Seynt Stephan in Colman Strete, M. William Leeke, vicar ꝑpetuall, Robert Ewell and Robert Barly, churchwardens of the same chirch, commande and forbede by comyn assent of alle the ꝑissch. That no man ne woman ne childe receyve no suche pepull after this monyschyng made under the payn of lesyng to the church of Seynt Stephan iij solid iiijd as ofte as he or they ben founde fawty ther inne."

The statement of the clerks' duty, written in the reign of King Edward IV. is extremely minute as to the times of service and the behaviour of the clerks there. The whole is set out in the appendix, and I only here refer to one particular.

"They shall make no contention, nor bate, nor heaviness, between the curate and the parishioners, nor of no other priest, and if they hear any confederate or imagination or slander of malice against the curate or of any other priest that longs to the said church, in all haste they shall in confession tell it to the curate, and the names of the persons that so imagine. Item. They shall be obedient in all lawful things to all the parishioners, and courteous in bearing and behaving themselves, in answer to high and to low as servants and members of the Church of God, asking their quarterage, their casuals, and other things that belong to them by right, amiably, and if any man or woman contrary, and will not pay

their duty, to inform the curate and the churchwardens, and they shall set remedy with grace of God, and if any person be breaker of this good and goodly ordinance, the indignation of Almighty God fall he in. Amen."

Then follows a list of the obits kept in the church, one being on the anniversary of the battle of Wakefield, and five wills affecting the parish. As I have said, I have not thought it worth while to encumber this paper with the wills, but what I have said will I think justify my statement that this book is in many respects the most important, both in date and contents, in the city of London.

The earliest account book begins in 1486 and extends to 1507. The accounts show, in some respects certainly, an advance as it seems to me upon the civilization of the present day; for instance, there was a common privy in the parish, which was periodically cleaned, the cleansing for the year cost 3*s*., which was a large sum in those days. It is worthy of remark that there were two of these over the Walbrook, in St. Margaret's parish, so that the temporal as well as the spiritual wants of the parishioners were attended to. Bread and ale seem to have been in requisition on the Church festivals, and the singers from Powles upon St. Stephen's day had drink given to them as well as payment in money. The church seems to have been pewed from the commencement of its being a parish church; in the year 1486-7 there is a heading of "repãcion of the pewes in ye church." "It. for xxiiij iron clampes for the same pewes, iijd." There are also charges for "nailes and planks for the werke." They were also repaired again in 1502 and 1503. I should fancy, if it were worth tracing the fact, that the antiquity of pews in London was very great.

The first vestry book commences in 1622, and contains many very interesting items. It would seem that the income of the vicar was only 11*l*. a year, but the parish made up the amount to 50*l*., in addition to the casualties, by agreement made with each vicar as he was elected, with a special declaration on the part of the vicar that he accepted the increase as a gift and not as a right.

In 1622 Mr. Samuel German was vicar; he, it seems, displeased the parish, and they refused to pay him anything beyond 11*l*. Upon this he complained to Dr. George Mountain, then Bishop of London, and the Lord Keeper, the Bishop of Lincoln. The Bishop requested the parish to continue their usual payment to Mr. German, and the letters which passed are substantially entered in the minute-book, but the parish refused to do so upon the ground of the "dislike which they conceive of the conversation and negligence in his ministry, charging of his parishioners with continual calymies in pulpitt and out, and otherwise of the said Samuel German doth think not worthy of the said liberal allowance." This

minute is dated 1623. This seems to have been a usual complaint against the city clergy, and perhaps with some variation might in some instances be repeated now, if the churchwardens kept as conscientious minutes as they did in the seventeenth century.

However, the quarrel appears to have been shortly patched up, for about a fortnight later Mr. German entered into a fresh arrangement with them at the suggestion of the Lord Keeper, from which it would seem that the parish were not wholly in the right, as they appear to have previously withheld the casualties from the vicar. A few months later he again quarrelled with the parish upon the same subject—money. This time he was clearly wrong, and had to admit it. In the next year, 1624, he left, and was succeeded by Mr. Davenport.

I have given an outline of this latter gentleman's history from Newcourt, but the parish books give some ground for thinking that the reason for his leaving was ill-health. The last entry in his time is of a present of 20*l.* given to him by the parish to pay for his going to and returning from the Bath.

Mr. Davenport was succeeded in 1633 by Mr. John Goodwin. The latter was a very remarkable man. He was in some respects a High Churchman, or rather he held some of the tenets which were then considered as indicative of High Church views; but politically he was an advanced Republican. At a later period he was a supporter of Oliver Cromwell, and advocated the death of the king. In his views upon Church government he ultimately threw in his lot with the Independents.

In 1641, before it was compulsory, he and the parish subscribed to the Solemn League and Covenant; and in 1643, when it was prescribed by an ordinance of Parliament, he and the whole parish again subscribed to it. These two covenants, with the signatures, are written in the vestry minute-book, and bear the original signatures of Mr. Goodwin and the parishioners. Mr. John Watts, the last signatory of the Solemn League, specially saves his allegiance to the king and his supremacy, and takes exception to holding arms against him.

At this time the principal laymen in the parish were Mr. Alderman Pennington, Mr. Alderman Hildesley, and Mr. Owen Rowe, deputy. Mr. Alderman Pennington is an important figure in the early days of the Great Rebellion. The first notice of him as a public man was when, during the prosecution of Lord Strafford, in 1641, he, with some hundreds following him, attended at the House of Commons and presented a petition signed by fifteen thousand citizens against the discipline and ceremonies of the Church. It is safe to say that this was a made-up petition, and put forward to serve as a pretext for what imme-

diately followed upon it, viz., the impeachment of Archbishop Laud, against whom it was levelled.

The Parliament had found a useful ally, and when, after the battle of Edgehill in the following year, the city was disposed for peace, Parliament quashed the election of the next alderman in rotation as Lord Mayor, who happened to be against the war, and appointed Alderman Pennington. The whole of his influence was thrown into the scale with the war party, and it is not saying too much to attribute to him entirely the part that the city took at this juncture; nor was this unimportant, the sinews of war were to be found there, and Lord Mayor Pennington drew upon them unsparingly. This fact was well known to the royalists, for there is scarcely a dispatch from the king at this period in which his name is not mentioned as that of a traitor. In religion he was, I should say, a Presbyterian, ending by becoming an Independent, although at first he was certainly Presbyterian. A most bitter opponent both of Church and State, he seems to have spent a considerable portion of his time in bullying the orthodox clergy. He was colonel of the Second City of London regiment.

Mr. Owen Rowe, another parishioner, was of the same way of thinking. He was serjeant-major and afterwards colonel of the Fifth City regiment. I shall presently show that the parish seems to have been the centre of the plots hatched against the King and the government generally.

In 1644 and 1645, though it is not stated in the parish books upon what ground, Mr. Goodwin came to a dispute with the parish. It was in fact upon a question of Church government. Several committees were appointed from time to time to consider the differences between him and the parish, and the last appears to have been on May 12th, 1645, when "It was agreed by general consent of the parishioners that Mr. Goodwin shall nominate six persons of this parish, and the parish shall nominate six persons of the parish, to consider and compose the present difference between Mr. Goodwin and the people within the space of a month if it may."

Whatever may have been the result of these questions, he was very shortly after turned out of the living by the committee for plundered ministers. The reason given was that he refused to baptize the children of the parishioners promiscuously, and to administer the sacrament to the whole parish. This would point to his being then an Independent, and the fact of his removal from the parish is a curious instance of the hold which the parochial institutions had upon the citizens. It was the parochial feeling which preserved the Church of England.

In the month of August there is a Minute to this effect: "It was then thought good to make choice of a Minister, and then this Vestry with free consent made choice of Mr William Tayler, of Stratford-by-Bow, to be Vicar of this parish, with their whole consent."

At this time an ordinance had recently been passed abolishing the Book of Common Prayer and ordering the use of the Directory. The parishioners of St. Stephen's—instigated by Mr. Alderman Pennington—proceeded to lay down rules for their own guidance, as may be seen in the following Minute: "At a Generall Vestrey held in the parish church of Stephens in Coleman Street, the twenty-fifth of January, 1645, being the Lord's Daie, It was generallie agreed by the lifting upp of hands that the Sacram^t^ of the Lord's Supper shall with all convenient speede be administered. And secondly, it was agreed that all p̃sons were not to be admitted to the Sacrament. And thirdly, it was agreed generallie that usuall swearers, drunckards, whoremongers, Raylers, ignorant p̃sons, open Sabboth breakers, lyers, and such as ordinarily neglect the duties of God's service and worshipp in their families, and such like, to any of theis who shall give no testimonie of their repentance after admonicion shal be suspended from the Sacrament. Fourthly, it was generallie agreed Mr Aldr^an^ Pennington, Mr Aldr^an^ Avery, Mr Owen Rowe, Mr James Russell, Mr Andrew Kenrick, Mr Thomas Barnerdiston, Mr Richard Ashurst, Mr Andrew Cater, Mr Caldwell ffarrington, Mr Jeremy Sambrooke, Mr Edward Lucas, Thomas Fitzwilliams, and Mr George Merryman, shal be joyned with Mr Tayler, the minister, and that they, or anie foure or more of them, shall have power to judge of p̃sons whether they are such as may be admitted to the Sacram^t^ or no. Fifthly, that all such as shall intend to come to Sacrament shall come to the said thirteene p̃sons, or any foure or more of them, together with Mr Taylor, at such time and place as shall be appointed, and receave from them a token whereby they may be admitted to the Sacrament, and subscribe their names in a Booke in that behalf to be kept. Sixthly, that the foresaid xiii. persons, or any four or more of them, with Mr Tayler, shall meete on Tuesdayes and Thursdaies, betweene the hours of two and five in the afternoone, at the parish Church, to consider, amongst those that repaire unto them, who are fitt to be admitted to the Sacram^t^. Seventhly, it was also generallie agreed that the whole parish shal be assisting to the said xiii. p̃sons and Mr Tayler, by way of informacion, and also to hinder all such as shall be judged unfitt by the said xiii. p̃sons, or any foure or more of them, with Mr Tayler, to be kept from intruding to the Lord's table."

This memorandum is signed by a large number of the parishioners, headed by Isaac Pennington and Mr. William Tayler. Mr. Owen Rowe did not sign it.

He is described in the minute book in some places as Mr. Deputy Rowe, and therefore I suppose was deputy alderman of the ward.

The parish of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, was, using the orthography of the order, with the following parishes in the seventh classis of the City, "Allhallowes on the Wall, Bartholomew Exchange, Bennet Fynck, Buttolph Bishopsgate, Christophers, Margaret Lothbury, Michael Bassinshaw, and Peter Poore," and this Vestry Minute is no doubt a fair sample of the manner in which the Presbyterian order was carried out. In my paper upon the Parish Books of St. Margaret's, Lothbury, and the parishes united with it, published in vol. XLV. *Archaeologia*, page 93, a reference is made to the dislike with which this order was received in the parish of St. Bartholomew by the Royal Exchange.

I have said that the parish of St. Stephen's was the centre of the Cromwellian faction. Both Alderman Isaac Pennington and Colonel Owen Rowe sat amongst the King's judges, and the latter joined in signing the warrant for his execution, to his great inconvenience at a later period. I shall presently show that other proceedings took place in the parish, and also that its turbulence was not confined to opposition to the King.

The execution of King Charles was not viewed by the City Presbyterian clergy with satisfaction. They addressed a representation against it to the General and his Council of War, dated 17 January, 1649, and subsequently they vindicated themselves from the accusation of having promoted the bringing of the King to capital punishment, in a formal document. Both documents were signed by a great number of the city clergy, including Mr. Tayler, who signs himself in each —Pastor of Stephens, Coleman Street.

Mr. Love, of St. Anne and St. Agnes, and Mr. Cawton, of St. Bartholomew's by the Royal Exchange—both parishes near to St. Stephen's—suffered for their expression of abhorrence of the act; Mr. Love being executed, and Mr. Cawton being imprisoned in the Gatehouse. But Mr. Goodwin appears to have been delighted: he both preached and wrote in defence of the deed, and it was no doubt in consequence of the part he thus took that when Cromwell's party became masters of the situation he found himself back again in St. Stephen's parish.

It is probable, therefore, that Mr. Goodwin had many friends in the parish, and his arrival is mentioned in a most interesting minute, dated 11th November, 1649.

"Forasmuch as it hath pleased the All-wise God, by the hand of the Present Supreame Authoritie of this Nation, to reinstate His faithful Srvant, Mr. John Goodwin, into his place in Coleman Street, where he is willing to bestowe his labours, soe it may be without prejudice to that Church of Christ to whome he is united, and with whome he hath walked hitherto in annother place: Wherefore it is desired one the behalfe of that Church, That they may have the same libertie and accommodation in the publicke meeteinge place of Coleman Streete as with readyness was granted to them by the people in Abchurch Lane Parish, and which they have quietly enjoyed ever since in their publicke place. The particulars are as follow:—

(1) That the said Church of Christ may have the use of the meeteing-place to receive the Lord's Supper soe oft as they see cause, after the sermon ended, and to make collections among themselves at such times for their own poore.

(2) That at such times of their communion with Christ at His Supper, they may be intire of themselves, and none wthout their admission and fre consent may put themselves among them or offer to communicate with them.

(3) That they may have the like libertie of the said meeteing-place after sermon ended, to consult and determine their other affaires for the well ordering their body, and bee therein intire of themselves.

(4) That when public collections are made for the poore one fast-daies or thanksgiveing daies the collections may be divided equally, one halfe to the officers of the parishes for the use of their poore, and the other half to the officers of the above named church for the use of their poore.

(5) That the parishioners will bee pleased to afford what accommadacion they can in the spare roome of their pewes to the members of the said Church and others who shall come to heare there; Nevertheless the proprietie of each one to his pewe and freedome to accommadate whome hee pleaseth is understood to bee reserved to him.

This order was agreed and assented and consented by us whose names are heereunder subscribed." Here follow the names including those of Mr. Alderman Pennington, Colonel Rowe, Mr. Hildesley, and others. Mr. Hildesley is in various places at this time also called Mr. Alderman Hildesley.

The draft of the original proposal of which this minute seems to be the outcome is also in the minute book, and is, I think, in Isaac Pennington's handwriting, though I am not certain of this.

I shall follow the fortunes of Mr. Alderman Pennington and Colonel Owen Rowe, and refer to Mr. Hildesley presently; but I wish now to make a few remarks upon this minute. It is not very clear, but I think that the meeting

house referred to in it must mean the church, otherwise there are references in it which would be inexplicable. It seems a strange perversion of names to find the church called by this name; but this seems to be the case. There was a meeting house in the parish which was frequented by Major-General Harrison and others, fifth monarchy men; these gentlemen,[a] "the truly faithful friends to the cause of Christ, and irreconcileable enemies to the government and tyranny of a single person, were putting up their prayers to the Lord, witnessing and prophesying against Oliver Cromwell and the beast-like foundation he stood upon, for which cause" (I am quoting from their own account of themselves) "and no other they were by letters and orders from himself and his council cast into prison and banished."

It seems from the same source that "the Lord Mayor Chiverton and Sheriff Robbinson the City Marshal and his men and other commanded persons for the Devil's work upon a verbal message or order from Oliver Protector came to the meeting place in Coleman Street and in the time of prayer and speaking the marshall and his men and the rest violently broke in upon them and disturbed the people in their meeting and haled certain (naming them) and put them in the Counter for no other cause than witnessing against the apostacy tyranny and oppression then lying upon us and not yet taken away." Oliver Protector was not a person to be called an apostate, a tyrant, and an oppressor, with impunity. But there were others also not to escape with impunity.

The last public appearance of Alderman Pennington during the Commonwealth is thus detailed in a contemporary publication:[b] "The officers, on 7th May, 1659, sent to some of their old hackney drudges of the Long Parliament then in London, who they knew would do anything so they might be suffered to sit to make a Parliament," and among these to Alderman Pennington.

The pamphlet describes the various members, by epithets, generally the reverse of complimentary. Alderman Pennington is simply described as "Rich Alderman Pennington." I believe this epithet is sarcastic, as he was at this time poor. He thus became a Member of the Parliament which eventually, after the admission of the secluded members, brought back the King. As the return of the

[a] "A true Catalogue, or account of the several places, &c., by whom Richard Cromwell was proclaimed Lord Protector." There is no date, place, or name of printer. At the foot of the first page there is this description: "Printed in the first year of the 'English Armies' small or scarce beginning to return from their almost six years great apostacy." It was apparently printed in London 1659 (pp. 12 and 13).

[b] "England's Confusion, written by one of the few Englishmen that are left in England." London, 1659 (p. 9).

King had a considerable effect upon his next public appearance, I will pass on to this period, and we shall see Mr. Alderman Pennington and his friend Colonel Owen Rowe again, but this time in another public place.

We will take the Alderman first. We are now in the year 1660, and in the Session House, Old Bailey, where he, then an old man, is upon his trial upon an indictment purporting[a] "That he, together with others, not having the fear of God before his eyes, and being instigated by the Devil, did maliciously, treasonably, and feloniously, contrary to his true allegiance and bounden duty, sit upon and condemn our late Sovereign Lord King Charles I. of ever blessed memory, and also did upon the thirtieth day of January, one thousand six hundred and forty-eight, sign a warrant for the execution of his late Sacred and Serene Majesty, of ever blessed memory, where he also," &c.

To this Isaac Pennington pleaded "Not guilty." He was asked by the Clerk: "How will you be tried?" Isaac Pennington: "By God and the country." The Clerk: "God send you a good deliverance."

Upon October 16th he was called to the bar, and he made this speech: "I am unwilling to be troublesome to the Court: this I shall take the boldness to say, which shall be nothing but truth. I never had a hand in plotting or contriving malicious practices against His Majesty, demonstrated by my utterly refusing to sign the warrant for his execution, though often solicited thereunto. I cannot deny but I sat amongst them that did sentence, but I cannot say I was there when the sentence passed. I sat amongst them out of ignorance. I knew not what I did; therefore I hope you will believe there was nothing of malice in anything I did—I was misled to it." The Lord Chief Baron: "I cannot hear you" (he not speaking loud). Isaac Pennington: "It was ignorance, not malice, that led me; if I had known what I had done, I would not have done it. I humbly pray that there will be a favourable construction made of it. I humbly leave it with you. I did my best to pray for the King. I had no malice to act willingly against him."

Upon this he was found guilty by the jury, together with three or four other prisoners, "all which prisoners finding the place where they stood to be cold and unwholesome, prayed the court that they might have leave to return to the prison 'till the court shall be pleased to command their attendance, which was granted." When Isaac Pennington was brought in again he was told to hold up his hand—a very different holding up of hands to that which we have read of in the

[a] "An exact and impartial account of the Indictment Trial of the 29 Regicides." London, 1660.

minute of the vestry, and he was then told that he was in the same condition as the former prisoner, who had been found guilty—"What canst thou say for thyself why judgment should not be passed?"—Isaac Pennington: "My lord, I have said all I have to say, and shall not trouble your lordship any further." The particulars of Mr. Rowe's trial are similar—he first pleaded not guilty, but afterwards withdrew his plea. His own confession was as follows, when called upon to give an account of himself:—

"I have not much to say, I never had any ability, therefore, my lord, it was never my intent upon my plea, as was said before, to deny anything I have done, for I was clearly convinced that I ought to confess it before, and I do confess against myself that I did sit there (upon the trial of the King) several times, and to the best of my remembrance I did sign and seal the warrant for his execution, and truly, my lord, it was never in my heart to conceive a plot of this nature; how I came there I do not know. I was very unfit for such a business, and I confess I did it ignorantly, not understanding the law, so was carried away, hidden in the business, not understanding what I did, therefore, my lord, I humbly intreat this honorable court that you will consider of it and look upon me as one that out of ignorance did it, and if I had known of my act I would rather have been torn in pieces with a thousand horses. When I heard of the declaration and gracious pardon of his Majesty, I confess I went to my Lord Mayor's and layed hold of it, and I thought my life as secure as it is now in my own hands. But I do wholly cast myself upon the king's mercy, and as I have heard he is a gracious king, full of lenity and mercy, so I hope I shall find it. I never was against government, it is a blessed thing we have it. I hope all the nations will be happy under it; I shall submit to his Majesty and government. I can say no more, I was not brought up a scholar, but was a tradesman, and was meetly ignorant when I went on that business. I do humbly intreat your lordships that you would, as tenderly as may be, present my case to the king, whom I rest upon, and leave all to your lordships' wisdome and discretion to do what you will concerning me."

They were both sentenced to death; but, in accordance with the terms of the Act, this was respited, and they were imprisoned in the Tower, where however they died within a few days of each other.

In Mr. Smith's Obituary the following notice of the death occurs:—"1661, Decr. 17, Isaac Penington, late Alderman, prisoner in ye Tower, convict of high treason, died."

Decr. 25, Owen Row, prisoner in ye Tower for ye same died.

There are one or two observations in Colonel Owen Rowe's confession which are worthy of remark. At the commencement of it he says,—"How I came there I do not know, I was very unfit for such a business;" and towards the close he says, "I was not brought up a scholar, but was a tradesman and meetly ignorant when I went on that business."

Among the orders of the House of Parliament upon the occasion of the King's trial, there is one under date the 12th January appointing that "Titchbourn, Rowe, with others, all citizens, were to prepare for the solemnity of the tryal, and to appoint workmen," &c. It seems pretty clear therefore how he came there. I dare say it was all in the way of trade.

In the trial of Mr. Hugh Peters upon the same charge, there are some particulars given of the parish in connection with the plot to bring the King to trial and execution.

One of the witnesses, Wybert Gunter, being sworn, was asked—"Mr. Gunter, what can you say concerning a meeting and consultation at the Star in Coleman Street?"

"*Gunter.*—My lord, I was a servant at the Star, in Coleman Street, with one Mr. Hildesley" (whose name occurs as one of the signatures to the vestry meeting of 11th November, 1649). "That house was a house where Oliver Cromwell and several of that party did use to meet in consultation. They had several meetings. I do remember very well one among the rest in particular, that Master Peters was there, he came in in the afternoon about four o'clock, and was there till ten or eleven at night. I being but a drawer could not hear much of the discourse, but the subject was tending towards the King after he was a prisoner, for they called him by the name of Charles Stuart. I heard not much of the discourse, they were writing, but what I know not, but I guessed it to be something drawn up against the King. I perceived that Mr. Peters was privie to it and pleasant in the Company."

"*Court.*—How old were you at that time?"

"*Gunter.*—I am now thirty years the last Bartolomew Day, and this was in 1648."

"*Court.*—How long before the king was put to death?"

"*Gunter.*—A good while; it was suddenly as I remember, three dayes before Oliver Cromwell went out of town."

"*Peters.*—I was never there but once with Mr. Nathaniel Fines."

"*Council.*—Was Cromwell there?"

"*Gunter.*—Yes."

"*Council.*—Was Mr. Peters there any oftener than once?"

"*Gunter.*—I know not, but once I am certain of it; this is the gentleman, for then he wore a great sword."

"*Peters.*—I never wore a great sworde in my life."

In his summing up, the Lord Chief Baron (Sir Orlando Bridgman) refers to this evidence only, as showing that Mr. Peters was one of the cabal, and I am only referring to it as showing that such a cabal was held in Mr. Hildesley's house, the Star, in Coleman Street.

And now as to Mr. Goodwin:

At the Restoration the living was declared vacant, and thus Mr. Tayler was ejected, and Mr. Goodwin would have nominally occupied it but at that time he was invisible, because had he been found he would probably have shared the fate of his associate, Mr. Hugh Peters. As it was, by resolution dated the 24th June, 1660, his books were ordered to be called in and burnt, and on the 25th June he was included among the twenty persons to be excepted out of the general Act of Pardon and Indemnity, to suffer such pains, penalties, and forfeitures not extending to life as should be inflicted on him by an Act thereafter to be made for that purpose.

Now however his High Church tendencies stood him in good stead; he had many friends among the Church party, and they protected him, so that he was finally included in the Indemnity; but he never appeared again at St. Stephen's, Coleman Street.

And now as to the fate of the living:—The parishioners considered that, the living being vacant, they could take their own course and reelect Mr. Tayler as their new vicar, which they proceeded to do.

On September 6th, 1660, there is this minute:—"Memorandum. That at this vestry Mr. William Tayler was elected vicar of the parish of St. Stephens, Coleman Street, London, the vicarage being void by Act of Parliament."

Shortly afterwards the Bishop of London introduced to the notice of the parish Mr. Theophilus Alford, with a view to his becoming their new vicar. Mr. Alford was a churchman, but the vestry apparently still retained a hope of continuing the service of the Directory. This appears from the following minute dated the 15th March, 1661:—"Ordered at the vestry that all those that are of the opinion to claim the privilege of the King's Majesty's gracious declaration in order to his Church service are to hold up your hands, and they were for it; and all those that are of the opinion to receive Mr. Theophilus Alford as curate hold up your hands, and they were against it." The declaration here referred to was that made by King Charles at Breda.

Nevertheless Mr. Theophilus Alford was elected vicar, and the following year Mr. Tayler died, and was buried in the church.

There is another interesting minute a few years afterwards, under date the 26th October, 1665. The plague had been raging in the parish; it began in June, and continued increasing until September. During the last week of this latter month fifty-six persons died of plague in the parish; after that it began to diminish, but before it left 560 persons altogether had died during the year. By the 25th of October rather over 500 had died.

On a previous occasion I observed upon the curious practice of burying in the churches and churchyards, and therefore the following minute will not, I think, be surprising. One benefit, however, resulted from it, that the churchyard was paved:—

"The 26th day of October, 1665. At this general vestry it was ordered that in regard to the visitation, and that a great number of bodies had been buried in the churchyard, insomuch that they began to smell and to annoy the neighbours, it is therefore ordered that no more be buried in neither of the churchyards till time convenient, and that the churchyard be raised with earth, levelled, and new paved."

The register and account books testify to the severity of the visitation. If, as I estimate, the population at this time did not exceed four thousand, the five hundred and sixty made a not inconsiderable decrease, and page upon page in the account book is taken up with entries of payments to poor visited families.

We are all more or less familiar with Defoe's *History of the Plague*, but some may not have had their attention pointedly drawn to the fact that a considerable part of the story is laid in St. Stephen's Coleman Street. He refers to the numerous alleys by which the parish was intersected, and almost the only laughable story he tells is of honest John Hayward, the under-sexton of the parish, and his dealings with the piper in Coleman Street, who was carried in the dead-cart to the Mountmill plague-pit.

The Appendix contains the documents I have referred to, and I can only plead for this Paper that it may interest others in securing the publication of the records of our city parishes. Singly each is interesting, but I am satisfied that a publication of the whole would furnish such a history of parochial, political, and domestic life in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as would be invaluable to the historian and antiquary, and unrivalled in the world.

APPENDIX.

Fol. 1. The inuentory of the godis of the chirche of Synt Stephnes in Colmanstrete of london wryttyn the yere of oure lorde m^mo^ cccc^mo^ lxvj^o^.

JUELIS.

A. A chalex oũgilded in the fote thereof a crusifix and in the patent of the same an ymage of Synt Stephñe. B. Itm̃ anothir chalex oũgyldid w^t^ a scochoñ on the fote ther of w^t^ a crose of golde in the oũ parte and benethe an R w^t^ a crose bar of golde. And in the patent ther of an ymage of the trinite. C. Itm̃ a chalix oũ gildid in the fote a crucifix w^t^ mary and Johñ. And in the patent of the same an ymage of the trinite. D. Itm̃ a chalix oũ gildid w^t^ a crucifix in the fote, w^t^ this scriptu written hoc est vas dñi. And in the patent þ^e^ holy lambe. E. Itm̃ a chalix oũ gildid in the fote two scochones w^t^ a crucifix in the myddis. And in the patent the vernakyll. F. Itm a chalix not gyldid in the fote therof a crucifix gilded w^t^ branchis w^t^ j patent longyng ther to. G. Itm̃ j mone of sylũ to ber the sac̃.

a. Itm̃ a crosse of tre plated w^t^ silũ the fote.
Itm̃ ij pipes of Copper silũed for the Crosse staffe. B. Itm̃ a senc̃ of silũ. And a shippe of silũ C. Itm̃ ij crowets of silũ w^t^ a pax brede of silũ. D. Item a Coupe of Capper oũ gilded for the sacrament oñ the hyghe aut̃. Itm̃ a monstrance of sylũ for the sacrament w^t^ the hande of oure lady in the vise aboue the hy aut̃. F. Itm̃ a crismatory of Copper oũ gildid. G. Itm̃ a paxbred of tre plated w^t^ Copper oũ gildid w^t^ a crucifix in the mydis olde worne.

a. Itm̃ the resurrecõn of our lorde w^t^ the avyse in hys bosũ to put þ^e^ sac̃ment þ̃in.

LATON.

A. Item a peire of stãdarts for the hygh aut̃ w^t^ Coũynges of Calues leder made ther for to Coũ them w^t^. B. Itm̃ a peire of Candilstikks to set oñ the hy aut̃ w^t^ a lasse peire for processioñ. C. Itm a shipe of lattoñ w^t^ ij holywat̃ stoppis of lattoñ and ij sprynglis. D. Itm̃ a branche for synt Stephñe w^t^ v smale branches ther oñ. E. Itm̃ anothir grete branche be for the Resurreccoñ *in the* w^t^ v smale branches ther oñ. F. Itm̃ a grete branche be for oũ lady in the chapell w^t^ vij smale branches ther oñ. G. Itm̃ a branche of latton be for oure lady in the chapell of the yeft of the frñite of seint Georg. H.[a] Thomas Riche m̃c̃ yaue a Crysmatory of sylũ oũ gyldyd w^t^ a scochoñ of sylũ ther oñ wryttyñ Orate p aĩa thome Riche. Itm A^o^ dñi m^o^ cccc^mo^ lx^o^x^mo^. Tho^a^ms

Sic.

A^o^ dñi m^o^ cccc^o^ lx^o^ix^o^.

[a] This and the next seven lines are written in a different handwriting, the date of it being no doubt 1469.

mower Corryo^{r} yaue a Crosse of sylu͂ ou͂ gyldyd w^{t} the crusyfix mary and johñ And oñ the fote wryttyñ Orate ꝑ aīabȝ Ricī mower et helene vx͂ eius. Itm̄ A^{o} dñi m^{mo} cccc^{mo} lx^{o}xj^{mo} maist͂ willm̄e leek vic͂ yaue a monstrans of sylu͂ ou͂ gyldyd And oñ the fote wryttyñ Orate ꝑ aīa mr̄i No^{a} bñ.
wiłłi leek vic͂ et c^{a}. Itm̄ A^{o} dñi m^{o} cccc^{mo} lx^{o}xij^{o} Robart Ewell and Nichūs hynde churche wardyns boughte a senc͂ of sylu͂ w^{t} iij lyones hedys and the pynacles ou͂ gyldyd weyñg xxx^{ti} vncę et dī vnc͂ et dī qr^{a}t͂ p^{l}c͂ v lī xj^{s} iij^{d} oƀ.

Fol. 2. Itm̄ iij disshes in a candilstikke of yroñ be for Synt George in oure lady chapell. Itm̄ j candilstyke w^{t} ij noses. I. Itm̄ ij sencers of lattoñ. K. Itm ij crosses of Copper ou͂ gildid righte olde w^{t} j crosse stafe ꝑtaynyng to oñ of them w^{t} j bolle ther oñ of copper ou͂ gildyd. L. Itm̄ j crosse of lattoñ ryȝt olde w^{t} v stonis of cristalle ther in. M. Itm̄ ij crosses of tre oñ of them for to be borne in ꝑcessioñ in tyme of lent. N. Itm̄ j candilstike be for the trinite in the body of the churche w^{t} iij branches. O. Itm̄ j candylstike w^{t} iij branches be for Synt Clement. P. Itm̄ j candilstik be for oure lady of pitte w^{t} iij branches in the churche. Q. Itm̄ iij disshes be for Synt Anne in the body of the churche. R. Itm̄ j candilstykke w^{t} iij branches be for Synt Sythe in the body of the churche. S. Itm̄ v disshes be for oure lady in the body of the churche. T. Itm̄ iij disshes be for Synt cristofur͂ in the body of the churche. V. Itm̄ j disshe be for Synt mary magdalene. X. Itm̄ j lampe hangyng in the body of the churche. And j nothir basyne of a lampe w^{t}oute any Reꝑaylle ther for. Y. Itm̄ x disshes for oure lady lighte in the body of the churche v of them w^{t} grete bolles be nethe. Z. Itm̄ j disshe be for synt kat͂ine w^{t} ij othir disshes be for Synt Nichūs oñ the frame be for oure lady auct͂ in the churche. A. Itm̄ xxvij^{ti} disshes for the beme lyghte in the rode lofte. And j disshe be for the crucifix of the yefte of Johñ Godealle. B. Itm̄ iij smalle disshes not occupied lying in and olde cheste in the rode lofte.

Pevtur.

A. Itm̄ iij peire Crowets. B. Itm̄ xxij′^{ti} disshes for the sepulcur͂ and ij disshes for the pascalle w^{t} Cordes þ^{t} ꝑtainis ther to. C. Itm̄ j disshe of pevter oñ a stokke be for Synt Johñ in the churche. D. Itm̄ j candilstike of iron w^{t} spikes and j nose be for Synt Stephñe. E. Itm̄ j Irone.
Branche of iron faste be fore oure lady in the chapell. F. Itm̄ j branche of iron be for Synt George in the chapell. G. Itm̄ j branche fast in the walle be for Synt Johñ in the churche. H. Itm̄ j branche faste in the piller be for Synt Anne. I. Itm̄ j branche faste in the walle be for mary magdalene in the churche. K. Itm̄ j grete branche be for oure lady in the churche. L. Itm̄ ij branches be for Synt cristofur oñ benethe the tothur above. M. Itm̄ j pyne w^{t} a whele for to put candiłł ther oñ and iij othur hopes made faste oñ the pillers of the rode lofte for to put candiłł ther oñ. N. Itm̄ ij disshes for the senc͂ to kepe fire w^{t} j newe fire pañe to sett fire.

Fol. 3. O. Itm̄ ij Redełł to hong Curtinis oñ atthe hy auct͂. P. Itm̄ ij Redełł at oure lady auct͂ in the chapel. Q. Itm̄ j long Redełł w^{t} ij smalle Redyłł atthe t͂nite auct͂. R. Itm̄ ij Rowne hopis for the curtyns be for Synt Sauyoure and Synt Stephñe in the chauncell. S. Itm̄ j Rowne hope for the curtyne of oure lady in the chapell w^{t} v othir hopes in the churche be for the t͂nite. Synt Kat͂ine, oure lady, Synt Nichūs, and Synt Anne. T. Itm̄ ij boltys of Iroñ hangyng oñ the Corde of the pascalle and hy in the chaunsell Rofe.

Bokys Missal.

A. A newe masboke of the yifte of Johñ Crowtoñ wryttyñ in the firste lefe in the secunde Columpe, salutem eredenem̄. And in the ij lefe in the ij Columpe wryttyñ, dnm̄ nrm̄ Jhm̄ xpm̄· B. Itm̄ j masboke wryttyñ in the firste lefe in the ij Columpe, corpis et quicquid ex eo taetū. And in the ij lefe in the ij Columpe, tuos et ancillas tuas. C. Itm̄ j masboke wryttyn in the firste lefe in the ij Columpe, isti benedicere et sc̄ificare. And in the ij lefe in the ij Columpe, dos s3 sine nota. D. Itm̄ j olde masboke wryttyñ in the firste lefe in the ij Columpe, cessit dies autem. And
Anꝑ. in the ij lefe in the ij Columpe, dn̄i reetas faeite. E. Itm̄ j antifoner wryttyñ in the firste lefe in the ij Columpe, sic fiat semp. And in the ij lefe in the ij Columpe, ciam tuam et veni. F. Itm̄ j anꝑ writtyn in the firste lefe in the ij Columpe, Rector cori prosequaꝑ. And in the ij lef in the ij Columpe, eius aput te inꝑ. G. Itm̄ j anꝑ wryttyñ in the firste lefe in the ij Columpe, si tres fuint aꝑe. And in the ij lefe in the ij Columpe, lam totam ꝑram. H. Itm̄ j lityꝋ porꝑ wryttyñ in the firste lefe in the ij Columpe, faciet iudiciū et iusticiam. And in the ij lefe in the ij Columpe, benedicam^{s} prem̄. I. Itm̄ j porꝑ wryttyñ in the firste lefe in the ij Columpe, iustū et regnabit rex. And in the ij lefe, non intellexit. K. Itm̄ j porꝑ wryttyñ in the firste lefe in the ij Columpe,
nota solde. uocabūt eū dn̄s. And in the ij lefe in the ij Columpe, ꝑ totū aduentū. L. Itm̄ j anꝑ olde not salisbury wryttyñ in the first lefe ij Columpe, confidenter et hoc est. And in the ij lefe in þ^{e} ij Columpe, Ecce uenit rex. M. Itm̄ and olde anꝑ not salisb^{r}y wryttyñ in the firste lefe in the ij Columpe, pire seculū. And in the ij lefe in the ij Colūpe, poteneiam tuam. N. Itm̄ j olde anꝑ not salisb^{r}y wryttyn in the firste lefe in the ij Columpe, luna polor^{9}. And in the ij lefe in the ij Columpe ꝑbus et lingue. O. Itm̄ j olde anꝑ not salisb^{r}y wryttyñ in the firste lefe in the ij Columpe, ture genealogiam. And in the ij lefe in the ij Columpe, nos virgo. P. Itm̄ j portaꝑ chayned in the quere wryttyñ in the firste lefe in the ij Columpe, u cur uant^{n} oīa. And in the ij lefe in the ij Columpe, ramus obuiam saluatori. Q. Itm̄ j portas olde wryttyñ in þ^{e} firste lefe in þ^{e} ij colme, redemptor omī, þ^{e} ij lefe, rex c^{r}ator.

Fol. 4.

Gradalis.

A. A gradalle of the yifte of mayꝑ wyllm̄e leek viꝯ of this chirche, wrytyñ in the ij lefe, nobis deinde repetaꝑ. And in the iij lefe, et ex patre natū. B. Itm̄ j gradalle wryttyñ in the firste lefe in the ij Columpe, dnm̄ nrm̄ Jhm̄. And in the ij lefe in the ij Columpe, inferi. Credo uidere. C. Itm̄ j gradalle wryttyñ in the firste lefe in the ij Columpe, viuit et regnat. And in the ij lefe in the ij Columpe, seruiciū sine aliq^{o} scō. D. Itm̄ j gradalle of the yifte of John
Sic. Crowtoñ wryttyñ in the ij lefe, Ad te leuaui, and in the iij^{de} lefe, thi et semitas tuas. E$^{+\text{vacat}}$.
Manuels. Itm̄ j olde gradalle wryttyñ in the ij^{de} lefe, mitas tuas. And in the iij^{de} lefe, aput deū. F. Itm̄ j manuel wryttyñ in the ij lefe, Amen. Sub eodm̄. And in the iij^{de} lefe ꝑ dnm̄ nrm̄. G. Itm̄ j manuel of the yfte of m. willm̄e leek viꝯ wryttyñ in the firste lefe in the ij Columpe, sacꝺoti in suppeꝋ. And in the ij lefe in the ij Columpe, pellandos diuine grē. H. Itm̄ j nothir manuell of the seyde viꝯ yifte wryttyn in the firste lefe in the ij Columpe, Adiuratus per eū.

And in the ij lefe in the ij^{de} Columpe, miseracōnū tuarꝝ dele. I. Itm̄ j manuell not salisb^{r}y in the firste lef wryttyn in the ij^{de} Columpe, Exorsimis aque. And in the ij^{de} lefe in the ij^{de} Colup̃e, las eos de mūdo. K. Itm̄ j nothir olde manuell not salisb^{r}y wryttyn̄ in the firste lefe, Ordo qualiter. And in the ij^{de} lefe rogam^{9} te dn̄e. L. Itm̄ j nothir olde manuell not salisb^{r}y wryttyn̄ in the firste lefe, dn̄s Johes p̃p. And in the ij^{de} lefe, ora p^{r}ma duct^{9}. M. Itm̄ j boke cleped ps oculi in the firste lefe wryttyn̄ in the ij^{de} Columpe, che et eis īniūgentes. And in the ij^{de} lefe in the ij^{de} Columpe dict^{a} de facili. N. Itm̄ j Ordinalle wryttyn̄ in the first lefe, A p̃cipio aduēte dn̄i. And in the ij^{de} lefe, clamor meus. O. Itm̄ j ꝑessionary wryttyn̄ in þ^{e} ij^{de} lefe, valeas eū angelis. And in the iij^{de} lefe, Aspges me dn̄e. P. Itm j ꝑessionary wryttyn̄ in the ij^{de} lefe, Exorsiso te. And in the iij^{de} lefe, bn̄dicit^{9} et aū. Q. Itm̄ j ꝑessionary wrytyn̄ in the ij^{de} lefe, sue genitrice. And in the iij^{de} lefe, erit. R. Itm̄ j ꝑessionary wrytyn̄ in the firste lefe, in festo corporis xp̃i. And in the ij^{de} lefe, salue festa dies. S. Itm̄ j martelage wryttyn̄ in the ij^{de} lefe, occisus est. And in the iij^{de} lefe, admirand^{9} gloriosissime. T. Itm̄ j lityl boke of vij salmis wryttyn̄ in the ij^{de} lefe, mei. And in the iij^{de} lefe, bit ad te. + V.^{vacat} Itm̄ j queyr of corpus xp̃i wryttyn̄ in the ij^{de} lefe, nūc dimittę. And in the iij^{de} lefe, suū in potū. X. Itm̄ j saut^{9} w^{t} the in vita tatoriis wryttyn̄ in the ij^{de} lefe, inrani in ira. And in the iij^{de} lefe, uite adorem^{9}. Y. Itm̄ j saut^{9} chaynet in the quer^{9} wryttyn̄ in the firste lefe, de ista orōne. And in the ij^{de} lefe, gementes recolim^{9}. Z. Itm̄ j saut^{9} chained in oure lady chapel wryttyn in the firste lefe, qui nōn abiit. And in the ij^{de} lefe, ppli cōūdant^{9}. Itm̄ j lityll saut^{9} chained in the quer^{9} wryttyn̄ in þ^{e} ij^{de} lefe, seruite dn̄o. And in the iij^{de} lefe, Verba mea. Itm̄ j grete legent wryt in the firste lefe in the ij^{de} Columpe, ve genti p̃atrici. And in the ij^{de} lefe in the ij^{de} Columpe, bethphage dom^{9} buece. Itm̄ j nothir legent wryttyn̄ in þ^{e} firste lefe in the ij^{de} Columpe, et salus eritis. And in the ij^{de} lefe in the ij^{de} Colūpe, linguam coiberet. [a]Itm̄ j p̃mer that barly toke þ^{t} most ly in oure lady chapell which is in maist^{9} shugburghe is kepyng.

nota solde.

Var . . . . .

Proces^{9} iiij.

Psalt^{9}.

Fol. 5.

Vestementis.

A. An hole sute of vestments of blewe damaske enbrawdet w^{t} flouris of golde, for prest dekyn̄ and sudekyn̄. And alle þ^{t} ptainis ther to. B. Itm̄ an hole vestement of Rede baudkyne w^{t} lyonis of golde w^{t} alle the appell that longę to preste dekyn̄ and subdekyn̄ of the same sute. C. Itm̄ j hole sute of vestments of Rede clothe of golde w^{t} whyte branches and lyonis of golde. w^{t} alle the appell that longę to preste dekyn̄ and subdekyn̄ of the same sute. D. Itm̄ j hole vestment of grene clothe of sylke w^{t} whyte floures. w^{t} alle the appell that longę to preste dekyn̄ and subdekyn̄ of þ^{e} same sute. E. j hole sute of vestmentę of yollow badkyn̄ w^{t} golde, w^{t} alle the appell that longę to preste dekyn̄ and subdekyn̄ of the same sute. F. Itm̄ j hole vestment of rede purpyl silke w^{t} hartę of golde w^{t} alle the appel that longę to preste dekyn̄ and subdekyn̄ of the same sute excepte an amyse. G. Itm̄ j vestement of Rede sylke olde worne, for p̃ste dekyn̄ and alle that longę to them̄. H. Itm̄ j vestment of blake sylke w^{t} alle the appell that longę to

[a] This item, though written in the same handwriting as the other entries under this head, was added in a different ink. Barly here mentioned was churchwarden of the parish, his name occurs in other places.

preste dekyne and subdekyñ of the same sute. I. Itm̄ j vestment of blewe chamlet, enbraudet wᵗ whyte Roses wᵗ stole, fanoñ, aube, amys and alle þᵗ longe for a preste. K. Itm̄ j vestment of Rede and grene wᵗ Cokke of golde olde worne wᵗ an ymage of the trinitie in the bac̄ wᵗ stole, fanoñ, aube, amys, and alle þᵗ longe to a preste. L.[a] Itm̄ j vestment of blac sateyne wᵗ stole, fanoñ, aube, amys *and and* alle þᵗ longe to preste. M. Itm̄ j chesebyll of purpyll sylke wᵗ j grene orfray and Cokke of golde. N. Itm̄ j nothir purpyll chesebyll for gode fryday. Itm̄ j nothir chesebyl of Rede and yollowe. Itm̄ j nothir chesebyll of yollowe sylke wᵗ garters. Itm̄ j chesebyll of Ray wᵗ a grene orfray. Itm̄ j chesebyll of blac̄ sylke alto brokyñ. O. Itm̄ j hole sute of vestmt̄ of whyte bustyañ for sondayes in tyme of lent of the yifte of Johñ Croutoñ wᵗ Rede Roses enbraudet wᵗ stoles, fanoñs, aubes, amys of the same sute. P. Itm̄ j vestment of white sylke in tyme of lent wᵗ stolle, fanon, aube, amys of the same sute. Q. Itm̄ j vestment of whyte fustyañ for lent wᵗ stolle, fanō aube amys of þᵉ same s̄. Itm̄ j hole sute of vestmente of whyte damask wᵗ stolys, fonoñs, aubȝ, amys and alle that longe to preste dekyñ and subdekyñ of the same sute, and also three Capys acordyng to the same sute of the yefte of maist̄ willm̄e leek sū tyme vic̄ of thys churche oñ whose soule god haue m̄ey. Itm̄ j nother hole sute of vestmente of whyte damaske inbrauded wᵗ floures of golde wᵗ stolys fanoñs aubȝ amysys wᵗ alte the appell that longe to preste dekyñ and subdekyñ of the same sute. And also thre Capys acordyng to the same of the seyde vic̄ yefte. R. Itm̄ j vestement of yollowe sylke wᵗ a grene crose for feryalle dayes wᵗ stole fanon aube (amys lackyth of þᵗ sute). S. Itm̄ a vestement for feryalle dayes olde clothe of golde wᵗ lyonis wᵗ aube amys fanon lackyth of þᵗ sute & þᵉ stolle. T. Itm̄ j vestement of grene of the yifte of m. Robarde Rokke wᵗ stolle fanon aube amys of þᵗ sute. W. Itm̄ j chesebyll and iij tunekyll wᵗ ij aubys ij amys for childir̄ at synt Nichūs tyde. X. Itm̄ j vestement of blak sateyne for a preste the orfreys of blewe sylke wᵗ whyte flowres and swannys swymyng, wᵗ stole fanon aube amys of the same sute. Y. Itm̄ j hole sute of vestment of whyte damaske wᵗ alle the appell of the same sute that longe to p̄st dekeñ and subdekeñ of the yeft of m. Wyllme leek vic̄ of whos soule god haue m̄cy am̄.

Sic.

Fol. 6.

Sic.

Nota bñ.

Copys.

A. Itm̄ iij copis of blewe damaske enbraudyt wᵗ flouris of golde ij of them of the yifte of John Croutoñ. B. Itm̄ iij Copys of Rede baudkyñ wᵗ lyonis of golde of the yifte of John Osyñ. C. Itm̄ iij Copis of Rede clothe of golde wᵗ whyte branches and lyonis of golde. D. Itm̄ iij Copys of grene clothe of sylke wᵗ whyte floures. E. Itm̄ j Rede cope of velvet olde wᵗ crounys enbraudet. F. Itm̄ j olde yollowe cope wᵗ grene strypis for sondayes. G. Itm̄ iiij olde Copis for chyldir. H. Itm̄ j olde blake Cope of sylke. Itm̄ a cope of whytte bustian wᵗ Rede Rossis of þᵉ yifte of John Crouton. Itm̄ iij copys of whyte damaske of the yeft of the seyde vic̄.

Aut̄ clothis of werke.

xiiij.

A. Itm̄ an aut̄ clothe of werkys contenyng v yardē wᵗ lrē A. Itm̄ an aut̄ clothe of werke contenyng iij yardis scarse wᵗ lrē B. Itm̄ an aut̄ clothe of werke contenyng iiij yardis and and halfe wᵗ C. Itm̄ j aut̄ clothe of werke contenyng v yardis and an halfe wᵗ lrē D. Itm̄ j aut̄ clothe of werke contenyng iij yardys and a quart̄ wᵗ lrē E. Itm̄ j aut̄ clothe of werke contenyng v yardis and j quart̄ wᵗ lrē F. Itm̄ j aut̄ clothe of werke conteyng iij yardē wᵗ lrē G. Itm̄ j

[a] The whole of paragraph L is struck through with the pen.

auł clothe of werke contenyng iij yardis and and halfe wᵗ lrē H. Itm̄ j auł clothe of werke contenyng iiij yardȩ and j quarł wᵗ lrē Y. Itm j auł clothe of werke contenyng iiij yardis and j and halfe wᵗ lrē N. Itm̄ j auł clothe of werke contenyng iij yardis and iij quarł wᵗ lrē O. Itm̄ j auł clothe of werke contenyng iij yardȩ wᵗ lrē R. Itm̄ j auł clothe of werke contenyng iij yardis and an halfe wᵗ lrē P. Itm̄ j auł clothe of werke contenyng iij yardis and an halfe wᵗ lrē T. Itm̄ j auł clothe of werke of the yeft of John Richardȩ wᵗ lrē j crowned. Itm̄ j auł clothe of werke cōtenyng iij yardȩ scarse wᵗ lrē K. Itm j auł clothe playne Contenyng v. yardis wᵗ vij Rayes at eūy ende. Itm̄ j auł clothe playne contenyng iij yardis and an halfe wᵗ v. crosses. Itm̄ j auł clothe playne contenyng v. yardis and an halfe wᵗ iij Rayes at eūy ende. Itm̄ j auł clothe playne contenyng iiij yardȩ large not hemyt at the tone ende. Itm̄ ij coūyngȩ of fustyan̄ wᵗ crosses. Itm̄ j clothe of worke for the fonte at esł contenyng iij yardis ⁊ an halfe wᵗ lrē Q at bothe the endis. Itm̄ j frontell for the fonte of blewe lynnen̄ clothe frenchid wᵗ white, grene and Rede wryttyn̄ wᵗ þⁱˢ sc̄pł nisi quis renatꝰ fuerit, &c̄. Itm auł cloþᵉ of diap of v. yardȩ t pt wᵗ a Rede Crosse . . . . . of the gyfte of alson newbande.

Auł clothes playne iiij.

Fol. 7.

A. Itm̄ j of worke wᵗ lrē A contenyng viij yardis and j qᵘrł large.
Itm̄ j touall of worke wᵗ lre D, contenyg ix yardis and j qᵘrł.
Itm̄ j toualle of worke wᵗ lrē O, contenyg j. yard and xiij qᵘrł larg̃.
Itm̄ j toualle of worke wᵗ lrē F, in the cheste contenyg vj yardis and dj large.
Itm̄ j toualle of worke wᵗ lrē G, in the cheste contenyg v. yardis and j qᵘrł larg̃.
Itm̄ j toualle of worke wᵗ lrē Y, contenyg viij. yardis large.
Itm̄ j toualle of worke wᵗ lrē I, contenyg v. yardis and dj elle.
m. hyt ys vppon þᵉ auełł cloth of damaske for oʳ lady auełł.
Itm̄ j toualle of worke wᵗ M. contenyg iiij yardis and j qᵘtrꝰ.
Itm̄ j touall of worke wᵗ lrē K, in the cheste contenyng ix yardis.
Itm̄ j touall of worke not markyd of the yefte of John̄ Richardȩ.
Itm̄ j touall of work markyd wᵗ blak sylk wryttyn̄ ther vppon̄ Ewell of hys yefte.
Itm̄ iij touall of werke not markyd. Itł j lytyll touall of werke of the yeft of John̄ godalle.

Towalis of worke.

Smale weshyng touall be made ther of.

A. Itm̄ j toualle of worke olde worne contenyng ij yardis.
Itm̄ j toualle of worke olde worne contenyg̃ ij yardis and iij qᵘrł scarse.

Wesshing touall.

A. Itm̄ j hangyng a boue and benethe of blewe damaske wᵗ a crucifix amydis and a scoshon̄ at eūy ende of the same wᵗ j ton ther in. Itm ij curtyns of blewe sarsenet. And j frontell of damaske acordyng to the same of the yift of John Croutoñ. B. Itm̄ j hangyng a boue of redc clothe of velvet, and beneth of redc sylke wᵗ curtyns a cordyng to the same. C. Itm̄ j hangyng a boue and benethe of rede clothe of golde wᵗ a crucifix in the myddis and scochonys in the same, the Curtyns of whyte and rede sylke acordyng to the same. D. Itm̄ ij steyned clothes aboue and benethe of the lyf of Synt Stephn̄e wᵗ Curtyns acordyng to the same of the same sute. E. Itm̄ ij stened clothes of whyte damaske worke for a boue and benethe wᵗ a crucifix of mari and John̄ aboue. And benethe the ymage of oure lady wᵗ ij Curtyns a cordyng to the same of the yifte of

hanging ffor the hy auł.

Fol. 8.

Johñ Chamburlyñ and John Neyre. F. Itm̄ ij hangyngꝭ for a boue and beneth of whyte lynnyñ clothe wᵗ Garters wᵗ frontell Curtyns of the same sute. G. Itm̄ ij steyned clothes for a boue and beneth wᵗ the passioñ of oure lorde for tyme of lent. H. Itm̄ ij hangyngꝭ for a boue and beneth of blak bokrame for mortuaris wᵗ a crucifix of mary and Johñ wᵗ Jhūs wryttyn in a wreth wᵗ ij curtyns and j frontell of the same sute wryttyñ ther vppoñ disce mori of the yefte of Johñ croutoñ.

A. Itm j Couyng of blak bokrame for the criste above the hyghe aut.

ffor oure lady aut in þᵉ chapel hangyng.

Itm̄ ij hangyngꝭ for a bove and benethe of rede clothe of golde wᵗ j crucifix and scochonis in the same, the Curtyns of whyte and rede sylke acordȳg to the same. B. Itm̄ ij hangyngs for a bove and benethe steyned, in the oppyr clothe the transfiguracon of oure lorde. And in the nethir the birthe wᵗ curtyns acordyng to the same sute of the yifte of Johñ Osyñ. C. Itm̄ ij hangyngꝭ for a bove and benethe, in the oppyr clothe the resurreccoñ of oꝰ lorde, and in the nethir the ymage of oure lady wᵗ hir chylde and curtyns acordyng to the same. D. Itm̄ ij (ano.) olde hangyngꝭ ryghte febyll for a bove and benethe, in the oppyr clothe steyned the passioñ of oure lorde wᵗ a crucifix in the myddis. And in the nethir clothe steyned in the myddis wᵗ the ymage of the trinite and oure lady, and curtyns acordyng to the same. E. Itm̄ ij hangyngꝭ for a bove and benethe of whyte lynneñ clothe wᵗ garters, wᵗ frontell curtyns of the same sute. F. Itm̄ ij steyned clothes for a bove and benethe wᵗ syngnys of the passion in tyme of lent and curtyns a cordyng to the same.

Itm̄ j Couyng for the cryste of blewe bokrame in oure lady chapell. Itm̄ ij hangyngꝭ for a boue and beneth of blake bokerame wᵗ mary and John wᵗ Jhūs wryttyñ in a wreth wᵗ ij curtyns and j frontell wryttyñ þꝰon disce mori of þᵉ yefte of m. w. leek vic of whose sowle god haue mey Amen.

A. Itm̄ ij steyned clothes for a bove and benethe, and in þᵉ oppyr clothe the ymagꝭ of the fadir, soñ, and holygoste, wᵗ a boke be twix them. And in the nethir clothe in the myddis ther of the ymage of oure lady wᵗ hir chylde wᵗ ij curtyns a cordyng to the same. B. Itm̄ ij (a no vacat) olde steyned clothes for a bove and benethe, and in the oppyr clothe is the ymage of the tnite in the myddis ther of. And in the nethir clothe is the ymage of the fadir and the son wᵗ the holy goste be twix them̄ in the lykenis of a dove, wᵗ ij Curtyns a cordyng to the same of the same sute. C. Itm̄ ij olde steyned clothes of blewe bokrame for a bove and benethe. And in the oppyr clothe is the ymag of the tnite brokyne. And in the nethir clothe is the resurreccoñ wᵗ ij curteyns of the same sute. D. Itm̄ ij (vacat) olde clothes blak of clothe of sylke for a bove and beneth and in the oppyr clothe is the crucifix and mary and Johñ. And in the nethir is the name of Jhūs wryttyñ in golde wᵗ curtyns of the same sute. E. Itm̄ ij steyned clothes for a bove and benethe wᵗ the tokenis of the passyoñ in tyme of lent wᵗ ij curtyns acordyng to þᵉ same. Itm̄ j Couyng for the cryste steyned wᵗ the tnite in þᵉ myddꝭ and ful of angell. Itm̄ ij steyned clothis for a boue and beneth. And in the vppyr cloth the ymage of the tnite, wᵗ petir, Johñ, seynt stephne and seynt Albone. And in the nethir clothe the ymage of our lady seynt katine and seynt dorathy wᵗ curtyns acordyñg to the same of the yeft of robart Ewell.

ffor the tnite Auter.

Fol. 9.

They ar solde to John Alleyn.

A. Itm̄ ij steyned clothes for a bove and benethe. And in the oppyr clothe is the crucifix wt mary and John̄, and at eu̅y ende the ymag of synt Jamys. And in the nethir is synt Jamys wt synt Anne on̄ þe ton̄ syde and oure lady and Elysabethe on̄ the tothir syde. B. Itm̄ j olde steyned clothe (noghte worthe) for to heng be for the au̅t in the mydde þ9 of is the ymag of synt Jamys and his martirdome at the ende þ9 of wt ij curtyns to þe same. C. Itm̄ ij stened clothes for a bove and benethe wt the tokenis of the passyon̄ for tyme of lent, wt ij curtyns a cordyng to the same. ffor synt jamys au̅t.

A. Itm̄ j frontel of rede velved wt floures of golde for the hygh au̅t. ffronteł.

Itm̄ j frontel of whyte damaske on̄ parte. Anothir pte blake sylke, the thryde pte grene velvet enbraudyd wt branchis of golde and sylu̅.

Itm̄ j frontel of rede sylke wyth swannys of golde for the hygh au̅t.

Itm̄ j frontel of grene clothe of sylke wt whyte branchis ther in.

Itm̄ j frontel of grene sylke enbraudyt wt sterrys of golde.

Itm̄ j frontel of rede sylke enbraudyd wt sterrys of golde.

Itm̄ j cou̅yng of rede and grene baudkyn̄ frengyt wt Cokke of golde. A cou̅yng for a cors.

Itm̄ ij cou̅yngе of whyte fustyan̄, one for þe hy au̅t and j noþ9 for o9 lady au̅t.

A. Itm̄ certeyne relekys in j paxbrede of tre the ton̄ syde wt a plate of sylu̅ ou̅ gyldyd, wt a crystalle stone in the myddis and sertayn̄ relekе ther in. Relekys.

Vol. 10.

Itm̄ j lytill purse of yollowe and dyu̅s relekе wt in hyt.

A. Itm̄ j case and j corpase of Rede Satyn wt iiij okyn̄ levys above and iiij be nethe. And in the mydde iij pece of blewe velvet enbraudyd wt floures. B. Itm̄ j Corpase wt j case of blewe damaske enbraudyd on̄ the ton̄ syde wt a floure of golde and spange of golde and sylu̅ of the yifte of John̄ Crouton̄. C. Itm̄ j corpase wt a case of blake sylk wt whyte and grene branches of the yifte of the seyde John̄ Crouton̄. D. Itm̄ j corpase wt j case of grene clothe of sylke wt whyte branchis. E. Itm̄ j corpase wt j case of clothe of golde ryghte olde wt the martyrdome of Synt stephne. F. Itm̄ j corpase wt j case of grene and yollowe velvet strypyt ou̅. G. Itm̄ j corpase wt j case the ton̄ syde rede sylke enbraudyd wt ij branchis and j swan̄ in the mydys. H. Itm̄ j corpase wt j case of blak sylke wt a garland of whyte and iij lyonys in them. Corporas wt Cases þ9to.

Itm̄ j powche (vacat) of clothe of golde deptyd in tweyne enbraudyd wt skireł of perle wt iij ymachis and iij angeł in them tweyne ther of ys made a Corpas casse. A powche. There of ys made a Corp'as casse.

A. Itm̄ ij aubȝ on̄ of them wt parurs and the tothir not paruryd. Aubz and amytе.

Itm̄ j amyte of clothe of golde wt coronacōn of oure lady, Synt John̄, synt Ka̅tine, Synt Xpofur9 and synt margaret the crownys of them̄ set wt perle.

Itm̄ j amyte of blewe sylke enbraudyt wt v. sterrys of golde.

Itm̄ j amyte of grene velvet wt v. hedys and dyu̅s floures of golde.

Itm̄ j amyte of blew sylk and iiij swannys of golde swymȳg.

Itm̄ j amyte of grene clothe of syle wt a trakyle of golde and þe vernakyll.

Itm̄ j amyte of grene clothe of sylke wt traylys and iij scochonys.

The whiche ys in a ferialle vestment.

Itm̄ j amyte for Synt nych̄us bysshupe of rede velvet wt iiij crownys of golde.
Itm̄ j amyte wt oute lyn̄ clothe of grene velvet wt a scoshon̄ of Synt Jeorge.
Itm̄ j amyte wt oute lyn̄ clothe of blew and rede sylk wt v. birdꝭ and treyfoyll.

Pyllowys.

Itm̄ ij pyllowys of rede clothe of velvet for ꝑncipalle festꝭ for ꝑe hygh auꝯ.
Itm̄ j pyllow of rede whyte and yollowe clothe of sylke wt ymagꝭ and birdꝭ.
Itm̄ j pyllowe of grene clothe of sylke ryght febyll wt a branche on̄ ꝑe ton̄ syde.
Itm̄ j pyllowe olde of rede sylke, the work of yollowe.
Fol. 11. Itm̄ j pyllowe of grene sylke olde and brokyn̄ wt iiij scochonys on̄ the ton̄ syde.
Itm̄ j pyllowe of whyte sylke wt blewe strykꝭ oꝰ twerte and elongꝭ chekerwyse.
Itm̄ j pyllowe of ꝓpyꝯ sylke wt floure of werke ryght olde and febyll.
Itm̄ j pyllowe of ꝓpyꝯ sylke the tone syde the tothir syde of yollow strypyd.
Itm̄ ij Cusshynys of yollowe for the quere of the yifte of Thom̄s Alyne.

Itm̄ a fote to sete on̄ the crosse on̄ the hyghe auꝯ Coꝰet wt clothe of golde.
Itm̄ j staf for to set on̄ the pypys for the crosse wt othir iij crosse stavys.
Itm̄ j staf wt a croyse for Synt nych̄us bysshupe.

Bysshupe.

Itm̄ mytir of lynnyn̄ clothe set wt stonys of glasse and ij bosys sylꝰ oꝰ gyldyd wt a lylly poꝯ in eꝰy of them of sylꝰ not gyldyd.

Canapeys.

Itm̄ j canape steyned wt the ymage of the ꝯnite and the iiij ewangelystꝭ frengyt.
Itm̄ j canape steyned wt a son̄ of golde to henḡ oꝰ the sepulcurꝰ at estirꝰ.
Itm̄ j Rydyl steyned wt a chalix and the fygurꝰ of the sacrament oꝰ hyt and ij angeꝯ.
Itm̄ ij whyte clothis of sylke wt dragonys, eꝰy of them contenyḡ iij yardis scars.

ffor the leꝯ clothis.

Itm̄ j clothe steyned for the lecturꝰ in the quere wt ꝑe ymagꝰ of Synt stephne on̄ eꝰy syd.
Itm̄ j cloth for the lecturꝰ of grene and yollowe sylke olde wt lyonys and kokkꝭ ther in.
Itm̄ j clothe for the lecturꝰ steyned wt branchis and a floure of golde in the myddis.

wosted.

Itm̄ ij clothis of blewe wosted on̄ of them brokyn̄, the tothir ryght febyll.
Itm̄ j clothe to ley be for the hygh auꝯ of blewe ryghte febyl wt whyte rosys.
Itm̄ j lytyꝯ clothe for weddyngꝭ pauyd wt rede and yollowe for to knele ꝑon.
Itm̄ j cloth of grene bokrame lyned for the presbetory.

Paxbredis of tre glasyd.

Itm̄ j paxbred of tre glasyd for the hygh auꝯ wt j crucifix mary and John̄.
Itm̄ j paxbrede of tre glasyd for our lady auꝯ in ꝑe chapell wt the fyḡ of our lord.
Itm̄ a Coffyn̄ to kepe the sacrament peyntyd on̄ the hyghe auꝯ.
Itm̄ j grete glasse hangyng be for the resurreceon̄ in the chaunseꝯ.
Itm̄ j offryng box peyntyd to kepe the ofryng ther in.

Baners.

A. Itm̄ j ban̄ of grene Tartren̄ wt the ymage of assumeon̄ bettyn̄ wt golde in the myddys ther of wt ymage of Synt stephn̄e and Synt laurens on̄ the sydis.

Itm̄ j ban̄ of yollowe Tartren̄ wt the ymage of assumpcōn bettyn̄ wt golde in þe myddys in a blewe clowde, the iiij ewangelystę at eu̅y corn̄ wt þe ymage o synt stephn̄e and Synt laurens.
B. Itm̄ ij ban̄ clothes wt the tokenys of the passion̄.
Itm̄ j ban̄ of grene Tartren̄ and the transfiguracōn of oure lorde ther in betyn̄ wt golde of the yefte of Robart Ewell.
Fol. 12 Itm̄ j ban̄ clothe steyned wt whyte damaske worke wt the martirdome of synt stephn̄.
Itm̄ j ban̄ steyned wt whyte damaske worke wt the birthe of oure lorde.
Itm̄ j ban̄ steyned wt whyte damaske worke wt the annuneiacon̄ of or lady.
Itm̄ j ban̄ steyned wt whyte damaske worke wt the mawndy of oure lord.
Itm̄ j ban̄ steyned wt whyte damaske worke wt the resurreccon̄ of or lorde.
Itm̄ j ban̄ steyned wt whyte damaske worke wt the aseencon̄ of or lorde.
Itm̄ j ban̄ steyned wt whyte damaske worke wt the oblacon̄ of þe iij kyngę.
Itm̄ j ban̄ steyned wt whyte damaske worke wt þe cūyng doun̄ of the holy gost.
Itm̄ j ban̄ steyned wt whyte damaske worke wt þe Assumpcō of or lady.
Itm̄ j ban̄ steyned wt whyte damaske worke wt the ymage of synt John baptyst.
Itm̄ jban̄ steyned wt whyte damaske worke, wt a lyon and an okyn̄ tre.
Itm̄ j ban̄ steyned wt whyte damaske worke, wt a dragon̄.
A. Itm̄ xij ban̄ shaftę to set on̄ ban̄s in the body of the churche. Shafts.
Itm̄ viij othir stavys coloured sū rede and sū rede and gren̄ ron̄de atthe endę.

Itm̄ j ban̄ of blake sylke wt dyu̅s raggyd stavys sylu̅ betyn̄. Ban̄s for the rode lofte lytyll worth.
Itm̄ j ban̄ of sylke wt the crosse of Synt George iiij qurt̄ bettyn wt sylu̅.
Itm̄ j anothir ban̄ of sylke bettyn wt sylu̅ wt the crosse of Synt Georg.
Itm̄ and olde ban̄ brokyn̄ wt the ymage of Synt George.
Itm̄ j ban̄ of lyn̄ clothe whyte wt the crosse of Synt George.
Itm̄ j ban̄ of sylke paned wt whyte and blewe.
Itm̄ dyu̅s other ban̄s not worthe but alto brokyn̄.

A. Itm̄ j pynon̄ of yollowe and blak lynnyn wt a lyon and j gote in sylu̅.
Itm̄ j pynon̄ of blake sylke bettyn̄ wt golde and sylu̅ wt blak lyonys and foulys in sylu̅. Pynonys not worth.
Itm̄ j pynon̄ of yollowe sylke wt a scpture olde bettyn in sylu̅.

A. Itm̄ ij Surplix on̄ of them brokyn̄. Itm iij Rachetę on̄ of them alto brokyn̄ not worthe. Surplix.

Cou̅yngę for ymagę

A. Itm̄ j wt the ymage of Synt Stephn̄e steyned wt damaske worke.
Itm̄ j steyned wt damaske for the resurreccon̄ and hs seyd ymage in þe same.
Itm̄ j steyned in the chapell be for or lady wt a lylly and oure lady ther in.
Itm̄ j be for the t̄nite in the churche wt the ymage of the t̄nite steyned.
Itm̄ j be for Synt Anne steyned wt the ymage of Synt Anne.
Itm̄ j be for Synt kateryne steyned wt the ymage of synt kat̄yne þ9in.
Itm̄ j be for oure lady wt hir ymage steyned ther in.
Itm̄ j be for Synt nychūs wt hys ymage steyned ther in.

Itm̄ iiij lynnen̄ clothes whyte and blewe to cou̯ ymage wt alle.
Itm̄ ij steyned lytyl clothes on̄ of them for þe angyll above þe hy aut̯ þe top̯ for sū seynt.
Fol. 13· Itm̄ j Ryddyll of blewe bokrame be hynd the vicar̯ in the quere.
Itm̄ j nothir Riddyll be hynde the morne ꝑste in the quere.
Itm̄ j vayle for lent to be drawne be for the hy aut̯ of lynnen̄ wt blac̯ crossis.
Itm̄ j Rode clothe steyned wt the passion̄ of o̯ lorde of the yifte of John Croutō.

Sudary. A. Itm̄ j sudary of sylke and wt rays ou̯ thwerte. B. Itm̄ j nothir̯ ful febyll. C. Itm̄ ij othir sylkyn̄ Curchys for to ley on̄ the crosse when they ar dede and brozto to churche of the yifte of Annys vmfray. Itm̄ j sudary of ꝑpyll sylke wt iiij knoppys of sylu̯ ou̯ gyldyd for þe Coupe.

sic.

Sepulcur̯ Itm̄ j sepulcur̯ ou̯ gyldyd, wt j frame to be set on̄ wt iiij poste and cryste þ̯ to.
Itm̄ iiij trestell to haue the sepul̯ downe wt iiij ironys to ber̯ ht vꝑ wt.
Itm̄ iiij Angell for to be set on̄ the poste wt iiij sence, ij gyldyd and ij not gyldyt.
Itm̄ iiij grete angell to be set on̄ the sepulcur̯ wt dyu̯s smale angell.
Itm̄ ij steyned clothes wt the apostoll and the ꝑphete bettyn wt golde wt þe erede.
Itm̄ viij bar̯es bettyn̄ wt golde to be set abowte the sepulcur̯ wt dyūs smale pynōs.
Itm̄ iiij knygte to be set on̄ the poste be for the dor̯. Itm̄ j angyll to be set in þe dor̯.

Cheste and almoryes A. Itm̄ ij cheste in the vesteary. B. Itm̄ iij almoryes for boke vestemente and Copys. C. Itm̄ j coffyn̄ for to kepe the sacrament on̄ the hy aut̯. D. Itm̄ j cheste bounde wt irone in oure lady chapell. And ij cheste in þe rode lofte. E. Itm̄ j long̃ coffyn̄ in the rode lofte wt iij long coffyns for torcheis in the chaunsell and in the churche. F. Itm̄ ij cheyers leddred for the quere.

Deske for auters. Itm̄ iiij deske for auters. And iij deske lying on̄ the quere.
Itm̄ iij lectures on̄ of them in the rede lofte, wt j lec̯ to rede þe legent on̄.
Sconsis. Itm̄ j Judas for to set candell on̄ wt a fote ꝑteynyg̃ þ̯to.
Itm̄ iiij Coffyns to ly on̄ the auters, wt v here. Itm̄ ij sconsys in the churche.
Itm̄ j howslyng̃ bell wt j lytyll bell to hong̃ in the stepyl on̄ þe dedicacon̄.
Itm̄ vj sconsys for the quere one of them of tyn̄.
Fol. 14. Itm̄ j stole of blewe damaske lynet wt grene bokrame which was founde.
Itm̄ j stole wt dyu̯s armys lynet wt blak bokrame hangyng on̄ þe quere.
Itm̄ j stole of lake bokrame lynet wt blew bokrame lying in the vestery.
Itm̄ j olde yollowe stell lytyll worthe.
Itm̄ j of cloth of golde leyde wt golde.
purys not worth. Itm̄ purys for j aube of whyte strypyd wt ray.
Itm̄ ij purys of rede for and aube wt blake bull.
Itm̄ j pure for and amyte of blake sylke wt þe ꝑnite and vj floures enbraudyt.
Itm̄ ij smalle pures for aube slevys on̄ of cremsyn̄ the top̯ of blew wt whyt branch.
Itm̄ j olde purpyll clothe of sylke þt was a lynyng for a vestenu̯ sū tyme.
Tabyll Coffyn̄ for the crosse. Itm̄ j salue tabyll Cou̯ed wt a lynnen clothe. Itm̄ j nothir of þe tunery.

Itm̄ j of the antymys of þ^e cros and oure lady and the responnys of the ꝯnite.
Itm̄ j Case for the crose in oñ of the chestꝭ in the vestery.

This boke wryttine by Thom̄s ffitz Johñ sume tyme clerke of this pyssħ in the monthe of aguste in the yere of oure lorde m°cccc°lxvj° then beyng viꝯ m. Wiłłme leek. John fflacher and Johñ bacon churche wardyns.

Fol. 15. The Inuentory of the goodes Juels and Ornamentꝭ of the pish Churche of saint stephens yn Collmanstret of London hereafter specified named and written. The xxv^ti day of the moneth of June In the yere of Oure lorde god A thowssande five hundreth and xlij^ti And in the xxxiiij^ti yere of the Rayng of owre soucraing lorde king henry the viij^th Then beinge vicar sir Richarde Kettyll Bacchelar of law, Robart smithe mercer, and Wylliam Bradforde Talowchandeler Churche wardeyns. To thentent that the tow pish Clarkꝭ of the same churche shall haue charge and kepinge of them att all tymes hereafter shall be redye and deliuer agayne or do To be delyuerd, To the saide vicar and Churche wardens, or to their successours all the same goodes Juels and ornamentꝭ when they or aiether of them shall be therto required.

PLATE.

Item a chalex silꝯ and gilte with mary and John in the foot and in the pattent saint stephen, wayeng xxxvij ounce.
Item a chalex silꝯ and gylt with the crucifix and mary and John on the foot and the Trinite in the patent, wayeng xix ounꝯ and de half.
Itm̄ a chalex silꝯ and gilt with a crucifix on the foote and on the patēt the vernacle wayeng xviij ounꝯ de half.
Item too sencers pcell gillt wayeng ixvij ounꝯ.
Item too candulstickꝭ pcell gylt wayeng xxxiiij ounꝯ and q̊ꝯ.
Item too bassons pcell gilt wayeng xxxvj ounꝯ.
Item a crosse with mary and John all gilt wayeng lxxvj ounꝯ.
Item a monster all gilt wayeng xxxj ounꝯ and q̊ꝯ.
Item a paier of cruettꝭ parcell gilt wayeng xv oūc de half.
Item a shipe percell gilt wayeng ix ounꝯ de half.
Item a pax percell gilt wayeng iij ounꝯ and q̊ꝯ.
Item a Crismatorye pcell gilt wayeng xxij ounꝯ.
Item a playne crosse pcell gilt plated vpon yron wayeng lxxiij ounꝯ.

Laton.

Item a pair of standerdꝭ for the heigh aulter. Item iij pair of great Candulstickꝭ for to stand on the aulters. Item vij small candullstickꝭ for the aulters. Item too holly watꝰ stoppis. Item a senser and a shippe. Itm̄ too crosse stavys. Item a great egull and a lampe for the pascall. Item too candullstickꝭ with ij snoffꝭ in eache of them. Item in the Roode loft xxv bollꝭ. Item
Fol. 16. a great lampe with owt the quier dore. Item a crosse of copper. Item too olde crossis. Item a crysmatory of copper. A bell at the heigh aulter. iij pair of cruettꝭ. A foot for the crosse. And a braunche for the organs.

Bokes.

Item iiij greate Antiffoners and ij small. Item a boke for the organs. Item iiij grayles. Item too greate legendꝭ. Item iiij Masse bokꝭ one with a grayle. Item a prynte masse boke. A masse boke wryttin vpon paper. Item a boke for Rectores. Item iij mañuelles one of them written. Item v. pcessioners written and iij prynꝰ. Item iij hymnallꝭ and olde prick songe boke. A sawter boke. Item an old legande writtin. Item a collectorie of the gifte of sir Robert Bygyng written.

Westementꝭ.

In ꝑmis a swete of Rede Clothe of tysswe with one cope to the same. Item a swete of Blacke cowntꝰfcite tisswe with to copis to the same. Item a swete of Blwe vellet with one cope. Item a swet of Blwe damaske with iij copis to the same. Item a swet of white damaske enbroderid with flowers with iij copis to the same. Item a swete of white damaske wᵗ owt flowers and copis. Item a swet of grene Bawdekyn with iij copis. Item a swet of Red bawdekyn and iij copis to the same. Item a swet of Red and grene bawdekyn wᵗ byrdꝭ and letters of golde with one cope.
[erasure]. Item to old copis of Bawdeky.
Item a swete of bawdekyn wᵗ doggꝭ of golde and grene silke wᵗ one cope. Itē a suete of copper cloth wᵗ owt any cope. Item a swete of white bustian and iij copis to the same. Item a swet of blacke Bawdekyn with a cope of worsted.

Sengull Vestementꝭ

Item a vestement of blw̃e vellet enbrodered wᵗ flowres. Itm a vestement of blwe damaske wᵗ a crosse of blwe tysswe. Item a vestemēt of whit damaske wᵗ a crosse of Red tysswe. Item a vestement whit satten briggꝭ enbroderid wᵗ flowers. Item a vestemēt of Grene satten briggꝭ wᵗ saint John baptist on the crosse. Item a vestment blwe vellet wᵗ a crosse of Red silke. Item a vestement blwe Chamlet wᵗ rosis. Item a vestment blw worsted. Item a vestemēt diap silke wᵗ stripis of golde whit. Item a vestement of bawdekin wᵗ a crosse of blwe and whit bawdekyn. Item a vestement of whit fustian wᵗ flowers enbro. Item a vestemēt whit fustian for lent. Item a vestemēt purpull silke for good frydaye.

Vestementꝭ lackyng parrell.

Fol. 17. Item a vestemet Bawdeking w^t^ the crosse blw vellet w^t^ Imagerie. Item a vestement w^t^ a crosse of lace. Item a vestement grene bawdekyn w^t^ a grene crosse. Item a vestement Red silke w^t^ crownid garters. Item an old Red vestement w^t^ a crosse golde bawdekyn. Item a yealow vestement w^t^ a crosse of brode lase. Item a vestement dornex w^t^ a crosse of stryped dornex. Item a vestement of dornex w^t^ a crosse blwe dornex.

Hangyngꝭ for the heigh aulter.

Item a hangyng of grene vellet and tawney Enbrodered w^t^ flowers. Item a hangyng of Red vellet enbroderid w^t^ flowers the neither clothe Red fustian of napulls w^t^ golden crownys. Item a hangyng of blacke cownterfete tysswe w^t^ a crucifix in the vpper and on the endes master brad[a]buries armes and his wiffꝭ. Item a hangyng bawdekyn olde w^t^ a crucifix w^t^ armes att the endes. Item a hangyng whit clothe w^t^ garters. Item a hangyng of blacke buckram w^t^ Jhūs. Item an olde stayned hangyng. Item a hangyng for lent.

Hangyngꝭ for o^9^ ladye ault^9^ in the cappell.

Item a blwe hangyng of damaske enbroderid w^t^ flowers. Item an other hangyng blwe damaske w^t^ A crucifix on the vpper part. Item a hangyng of backe Buckram with Jhus. Item a hangyng of whit clothe w^t^ garters. Item a hangyng for the lent.

Hangyngꝭ for o^9^ ladye Aulter.

Item a hangyng of Tauney vellet w^t^ silke curtyns. Item a hangyng yalow damaske w^t^ silke curtyns. Item a hangyng whit satten briggꝭ w^t^ garters. Item a hangyng grene satten briggꝭ w^t^ saint John baptist. Item too stayned hangyngꝭ. Item iiij cotꝭ for owr ladye one of Tauney vellet enbroderid, an other blw vellet and golde, an other whit satten briggꝭ enbroderid. An other whit Chamlet enbroderid.

Banners.

Item too crosse Banners one of the assencion of o^9^ lorde, an other of the assūpcion of o^9^ lady. Item a stremer of the assūpcion of o^9^ ladye. An other Olde stremer. Item v. Banners of silke. Item ij passion banners. And viij other stayned banners. Item v. banners for the sepulture. And xviij pendens. Item iiij banners w^t^ maydens heddꝭ. Item v. banners in o^9^ lady Chappell of Master bradburis.

[a] The d and b in this word are joined together in a curious manner which cannot be represented in the type.

Towells.

Fol. 18. Item a towell xiij yerdes long de halff, halff yerde halff q̄r brode. Item a towell x yerdes de halff long and q̄r brode. Item a towell vj yerde long, halff yerde, halff q̄r brode. Item a towell viij yerde long de halff, halff yerde brode. Item a towell iiij yerde long halff yerde halff q̄r brode. Item a towell iiij yerde de halff long halff yerde halff q̄r brode. Item a towell vj yerde q̄r long not and q̄r brode. Item towelle for aulters v, iij of them be diap and ij of cloth.

Aulter clothis.

Item an Aulr cloth diap iiij yarde q̄r long more than ell brode. Item an aulter cloth iij yerde q̄r long ell brode. Item an aulr clothe, iiij yerde long ell brode. Item an aulter clothe of lynnē v yerde long ell brode. Item an aulter clothe ij yerde and q̄r long yerde brode.

Surplice.

Item too gatherid surplis. Item iiij playne surplis for the clarke. Item iiij playne surplis for children and ij albes.

Item a canepy Red silke. Item too canepis for the sacrament, one stryped silke, the other whit nedull worke. Item a hangyng stayned for the sepulture. Item a clothe to drawe ou the sepulture. Item a herse clothe blwe vellet enbroderid w^t^ pellicans. Item a herse clothe tawney vellet for children. Item ij olde hangynge grene bawdekyn. Item a vale for lent paynted. Item a clothe payntid to hange be for the Rode. Item a clothe for a deske olde vellet an other paynted. Item iiij fustian ij of thē littill worth, ij pillows Red vellet and and grene damaske. And an Image of the Resurrection. Item xj Corporis and in eache of them a corporis clothe.

The Constitucon and ordinnce of chesyng the Chirche wardyns.

Fol. 148. Also we wyll frome this tyme forthe that for be cause of variaunce and dyuycōn that hathe bene of long contynuance among the pysshyns be for this tyme in Chesyng of Chirche wardyns and alle was in defaute of good Rule and ordynnce made Therfor we ordyne and make this Rule nowe for the pspyte and welfare of the chirche and for to eschewe alle suche vnconvenyence and dyuycōn that hathe bene among them be for this tyme that the sonday alwey be for the feste of the exaltacōn of the holy Crosse The vicair or his depute shalle amyabley after that mateyns be done calle the Chirche wardyns and the pyshyns to geder and ther for to name and chese one chirche wardyne to hym that hase bene laste chosyne the yere be forne, so p^t^ alway one shalle stond for ij yere And also we wyll that the wardyns the yere be for shall bryng in ther accompte w^t^in xiiij dayes aft the feste of mighms. And also the Auditours for to be namyd and chosyne the forseyd day for to hyre ther accompte etc a° m^l^. cccc. lxvj° vppon payne eu^r^y of the forseyd chirche wardyns doyng contrary to this ordynnce shall pay to the chirche xx^s^ etc.

Also we wyll that for euy pytt that ys made in oure lady chapell for man woman other chylde shall pay to the church werke x^s^ And for euy pytt that ys made with in the body of the church for man woman other chylde shall pay also to the chirche werke vj^s^ viij^d^.

THE SEXTONS DEVTIE.[a]

Also the sexton shall swepe the Churche and the yelle therof ey̅ weke ons at the least and cast water on the grounde for Rasynge of dust. Also he shall light the candulls ey̅ sounday and holyday yn the yere and doo them owt ayene as tyme requiereth. Also he shall Rynge curfie whan it ys rounge w^t^ one bell and call for help whan it ys rounge w^t^ moo. Also he shall blow the Organs ey̅ sounday and holyday in the yere. Also he shall bere the crosse on ꝑcession, and carie holywater ey̅ sounday and fete fyre in tyme of nede. Also he shall make the pittꝫ for dead bodies depe I nough for corrupte heyers, that is to say for men and women iiij fote depe and for children iij fote deep. Also he shall swepe the churche roffe iiij tymes yn the yere the churche fyndyng bromes and polles therfor. Also whan any procession is about.[b]

THE DEVTIE OF THE TOW CLARKꝫ.

Fol. 149. Also they shall clenesse the founte and feille it agayne w^t^ clene water twysse yn the yere at paschall and aſt witsonntyd and after yf nede requier. Also they shall ey̅ weeke Certifye to the Curat and the churche wardens all the names and sir names of them that be wedded Christened and burried in the same pish that weeke sub pena of a j^d^ to paid to the churche. Also the goodꝫ of the churche that belongeth to ther kepyng they shall treat and kepe it in the most best man̄ and savynge it from harme or ꝑisshinge to the vttermost of ther powers. Also that the saide clarkꝫ to be at noo tyme owt of the way, but one to be alwayes ready to mynesꝰ Sacramentꝫ and sacramentallꝫ what soo ey̅ shall nede to wayet vpon the Curat and to geve hym warnyng. Also that none of the saide Clarkꝫ shall goo or ryde owt of the towne with owt speciall lycence hadde of the vicar and churche wardens. Also vpon ey̅ sounday and other holydayes to helpe the sexton to Rynge the secounde pele to matens in deve tyme and to masse Evensonge and yn the lent tyme to complene and also in the absence of the sexton to rynge curfie. Also they shall dayly bringe forthe the Bookꝫ that be longe to the quier and Receyve them agayne to ther savegarde as they will answer for them on principall dayes and other festiāll dayes they shall bringe forth the Coppes vestementꝫ and apperellis for the aulters in the Churche w^t^ the Jvelles to be set on the saide aulters and they to dysaray them agayne as the tyme requireth, and bringe the sayd Jvelles and Ornamentꝫ into ther owne kepynge for the discharge of them selffꝫ. Also they shall serve the Curat and preest w^t^ þ^e^ coppis and see fier fet and redy in the sensours afore it nede and to set children to do ꝟvice in the saide quier. To light þ^e^ tapers to the sensoꝰs and to see thē borne or revesterid and the quier to be senced and many moo small thingꝫ as syngyng and Redyng and ꝓparing the bookꝫ and Tu^r^nyng theroff to the dyvine ꝟvice afore it begyne as of a laudable and an Auncient custome hath ben vsed in tymes past. Also they shall bere holywaꝰ ey̅ sounday in the yere. Also the clarkꝫ shall sette and bringe in all suche casuelltꝫ as be longeth to the Churche wardens to the churche be hoveffe and iff any casuelltꝫ fall yn any Churche wardens

[a] This is in a different handwriting.

[b] The "sexton's deutie" ends abruptly here at the bottom of page 148, but there is nothing to indicate that it is incomplete.

absence as beynge owt of towne they shall apply them selffe to bring them yn to the said churche wardens for the tyme being.

Fol. 153.
Statutū cū pena
a
Ꝑ exneis introductę in ꝑochia.

Ofte[a] tymys it is seyne that a syngler ꝑfette hyrtyth and harmyth a comyn̄ wele. And for cause myche of the pepyll be sette so nowgh a dayes wenyng hem selfe that they do well when they hyrte hēselfe and alle ther neyghburse semyng they do a werke of mercye or pitye and it is not soo but her singler a vayl or else they wolde not do hitte that they will receyve men and women and children ȝonge and olde of other ꝑissches than ther owne infecte in pestilence the which sekenes eu̅y man escheweth. Therfore we beyng Rewlers and gou̅nerse of the ꝑissch of seynt Stephan̄ in Colmanstrete m̄. william leek vicar ꝑpetuall Robert Ewell and Robert Barly chirch wardens of the same chirch comaunde and forbede by comyn assent of alle the ꝑissch. That no mā ne woman ne childe receyve no suche pepull after this monyschyng made vnder the peyn of lesyng to the chirche of seynt Stephan iij solid. iiij d. as ofte as he or they ben founde fawty ther Inne.
Intrat̄ int̄ Recorda de Termiō pasche A° xv° E. iiij^ti Ex parte Remem̄ Regę Ro. ij^do.

Nota bene ꝑ prospitate Ecclesie.
M^d this prouiso most be taken hede of at eu̅y ꝑlyament whan eny Resumpcions be.

Here is the Copye of the ꝑvyse for the lyuelote of the churche. Alwey for to be Remembred at eu̅y parlement where ther ys any Resumpcion̄. Irrotulatur int̄ Recorda de Termīo pasche Anno xv° Eę iiij^ti ex parte Remem̄ Rę Rotulo secundo et t^io.

Provyded alwey that this acte of Resumpcion or adnullacon̄ or any other acte or ordynnce made or to be made in this p̄sent ꝑlement extend not nor in any wyse p̄iudicialle or harmefull vnto williame leek vikayr of the ꝑyshe Churche of Seint stephins in Colmanstrete within the Citte of london John Johans and John fyshe kepers of the godę and ornementę of the forseyd Chirche and to the ꝑysshins of the seyde ꝑyshe nor to their successours of in or to any gu̅nt by vs vnto theym by our lrēs patentę vnder our grete seall berring dat̄ at westm̄ the xxviij day of feueryere the vij^the yere of our Reigne of any londes meses tēntę houses shoppes moyte and gardyns with ap̄ptenances in the seyde ꝑyshe of Seint stephins and x̄s. of quite rent in the ꝑyshe of Seint

[a] This is in the same handwriting as the constitution for choosing churchwardens.

Laurence in the olde Jure within our seyde Citee of london but that our seyde gunt[a] and tres patentes accordyng to theffecte tenour and purport therof be and stond vnto the seyde vicair kepers and pyshins and to their successours good effectuell and avayleable the seyd acte of Resumpcon or any other acte or any mesprision ambiguitee repugnnces[a] contrarietee or defaulte had or beyng in our seyd lres patentes whatsoev it be or by whate name or names so ev the seyd vicar kepers and pyshyns or their successours or eny other psone or psones therin expressed be called or named in any wyse not withstondyng, etc[a].

Fol. 154. Statutū De officio Clericor et quomodo se habebunt erga Curatū presbitos et pochianos omes.

A. In pmis Clerkys in ther office shal fynde sufficient Surete to the Curatt and Chirche wardens to kepe alle Bokys all vestmentę alle Jvellys and se to alle the avter clothes and wasschynge of hem and to the Amēdynge of hem at alle tymes as thei wer thayr owne. Itm they schal be obedient to the Curate and to alle the pstys in the Chirche doynge to hem reverence and be redy Day and Nyght and at alle tymes to goo wt the Curate or his Debite to visitte the seeke and to help to mynystrynge of the Sacramentę gladly. Itm they shal be diligent and redy dayly both holiday and warkeday to alle Diuine seruice that is don in the Chirche of seynt Stephan and not rangelyng nor tale tellynge in tyme of diuine suice bot exemplar of deuocion. Itm thei shal be redy to mynyster Bokys vestmentę Chalyeę and all other thyngę necessary to the Curate to the morn masse pste and to alle other pstę of the sayd Chirche that is to say ... to rynge iij pelys wt the lest Bells to the morowe masse and be for the last pele warne the morou masse pste and aske hym if shal rynge alle in. And so to do to the Curate or his Debite on sondays and holidays after the gode custom of london. Itm they shall opon the Chirche dores in somer att vj of the belle and orden fresseh water wyne and bredde. And ryng to morn masse ī som at v of the belle in wynter at halfe owre be fore vj so that the masse be sayd be vij. Itm thei shal help the morn masse pste to say masse in a surpelis, and at hyz masse dayly. And no nodur pste *in the chyrch bin at his ovyn wyll *[a] except the Curatt say masse at a side awt on of the pissch Clerkę shal help hym to say masse or se pt he haue on. Itm thei shal be redy to ryng to all man of diuine suice at dewe owre assyngned of the Curate or his debite affter the vse and the custom of londou pe Cite of. And not to ryng the laste pele vnto the Curate or his debite be psent. Itm thei shal swepe all the ymagys and glasse wyndowys of the Chirche ij tymes of the zere atte Pasch and at the Translacon of sent Stephan aud pare the alyes of the chirche yerde,

o. 155. and suffer no grave nor pitte to be made in the pcession way ī payne of xij dę wt owte gret nede. Itm they shal be redy euy sonnonday affter matens be sayd to orden water and salte and to cutte

[a] The words between * * are doubtful, being written over an erasure, but they are believed to be correct.

the holi loffe s. ij dꝙ ot, and a ot. looffe for the Cantelle sub pena of a j^{d}. to the Chirch to be payd. Itm thei shal see the ꝑfett of the Curate in offeringys in wax, in wyne in brede In ꝑrificacōns and in alle other Rightꝙ and Dewtys that longe to the avter of god Incresynge multiplyinge at ther power. Itm thei shal make no contencoñ nor baate nor hevenesse betwene the Curate and the Parisschoñs nor of no other Preste. And if thei here any Confeterice or Imagynacoñ or Sklawndyr of malice agaynee the Curate or of any other ꝑste that longꝙ to the said Chirch in all haste thei shal in confession telle hit to the Curate, and the namys of the ꝑsonys that so ymagyñ. Itm thei shal "be obedient in all lefull thyngꝙ" to alle the Pisschons and curtes in beryng in behauyng hem selfe. In answer to higth and to lowe as ꝟuauntꝙ and mēbris of the Chirche of Godde askynge theyre q̄rage their Casuallys and other thyngꝙ ꝑt long to hem be right ameabully. And if any man or woman contrye and will not pay ther dewty to informe the Curate and the Chirch wardens and they shal sette remedy wt grace of God. And yf ony ꝑsone be breker of this good and goodly ordinaunce The Indyngnacoñ of Almyghty God falle he Inne. Amen. Dat etc.

Fol. 155. Obitus ffraternitatis bē marie Dñica prima post ffm Ephiphanie.

Januarii. Obitus illustri Ducis Ricī de Ebozꝫ, Edmūdi Comitis de Rutland et Ricī Nevell Comitis de Salusburi et oim fideliū defunctꝫ in die scī Siluestri.

Decembr 31 die.

ffebruar 3 die. Obitus Johīs Sytyngburñ in crastio purificacōis beate marie, ꝑ Testamentū suū irrotulatū in le Gyldehall, et oim fideliū defunctoꝫ.

Augst 16 die. Obitus Johīs Essex et vxoris sue in Cstiō assūpcōis bē marie per Testamentū suū irrotulatū in le Gildehall.

Septembr 9 die. Obitus Ade Goodman et vxis sue in crastio Natiuitatis ꝺte marie ꝑ Testamentū suū irrotulatū in le Gildehall.

Nouembr 2 die. Obitus Johis Arnold señ et oim Benefactoꝫ Ecclie Sci Stephī ꝑ Testamentū suū irrotulatū in le Gyldehall ꝑ Gardianos ecliē obseruari semꝑ in Crastino Aiaꝫ vel iij die sequent.

Julii 2 die. Obitus Wiłłmi kyng parentū suoꝫ ꝑma die mens julii ꝑ Testamentū suū irrotulat in le Gildehall ꝑ vicariū semꝑ obseruari.

LIMITES PAROCHIE SANCTI STEPHANI IN COLMAN STRETT, LONDON'.

150. Henricus Dei gracia etc. Omnibus etc. Sciatis quod scrutatis rotulis et memorandis Scaccarii nostri, compertum est in eisdem, quod ad quaseunque soluciones decimarum seu aliarum contribucionum et quotorum per clerum Anglie omnibus antecessoribus nostris regibus Anglie nobis ab anno xx° domini E[dwardi] filii Regis H[enrici] nuper regis Anglie progenitoris nostri hucusque, quociens et quando [per] predictum clerum decime sue medietatis decimarum contribuciones aut quota concesse fuerint, Conventus Westmonasteriensis solvit decimas cum clero predicto pro bonis suis in parochiis subscriptis taxatis ad summam denariorum subscriptorum; videlicet, etc. Sancti Stephani in Judaismo, xxix solidos etc.

Et seiendum est quod tenementum quondam Henrici Lacy quondam cujusdam Judei nomine Manseri filii Aaron', et ut patet per quandam inquisicionem captam in London' de redditibus Judeorum anno regni regis E[dwardi] filii Regis Henrici tercii decimo octavo, ut hic in sequentibus:—qui dicunt super saeramentum suum quod tenementum quondam Manseri filii Aaron' juxta Catstrete in parochia Sancti Stephani in Colman strete London' valet per annum ix marcas. Inde Abbas Westmonasteriensis, xx solidos, etc.

De te[ne]mento Raheri de Soperslane postea Simonis Fraunceyis, postea Helie filii predicti Simonis [modo Elie Fraunceyis] [a] filii predicti Elie, filii predicti Simonis, quod situm est in Cornerio de Basyngsawe ex parte occidentali, et viam regiam vocatam Cattestrete ex parte australi, et tenementum Johannis Bradford nuper Ade Wyngham ex parte boriali, et tenementum predicti Elie ex parte orientali; et istud tenementum est cum altis muris lapideis et alard' [b] super cornerium predictum — Abbati Westmonasteriensi ad Festum Pasche pro toto anno in parochia Sancti Stephani in Veteri Judaismo London' xx. s.

(Added in a hand of the late xvj or xvij century).

Plura de hoc in Charta facta decano et capitulo Westm'. Anno 2 Elizabethe, ubi sic etc. Et de xx s. de redditu exeunte de quadam domo mancionali in parochia Sancti Olavi in Veteri Judiasmo; et hoc minus juste ut patet per preseden', tunc in tenura Brodbury.

151. CONSTITUCIO PROVINCIALIS SCRIPTA ANNO DOMINI M.[l]. CCCC[mo]. LX. OCTAVO.

Presbiteri stipendiarii necnon alii sacerdotes propriis sumptibus vel per amicos sustentati divina celebrantes in archiepiscopatu nostro non recipiant oblaciones, obvenciones, porciones, denarios pro requestu, trintalia vel aliam partem certam quotam, presertim oblaciones pro eorporibus mortuorum presentibus a rectoribus vel vicariis ecclesiarum, in quibus celebraverint, ullo modo nec asportarent in prejudicium rectorum, vicariorumve predictorum, vel eorum vicem gerencium, ne sentenciam excommunicacionis majoris latam in hac parte incurrant, ut Constitucio provincialis.

[a] The words within brackets have been erased but are still legible.

[b] This is how the word is written in the MS.

diximus immiscendo. Predicti vero presbiteri die Dominica vel festiva post admissionem suam jurabunt coram rectoribus, vicariis, vel eorum vicem gerentibus si nulli sint vicarii ibidem, alioquin coram ipsis vicem gerentibus, vicariis vel locorum parochianis, intra missarum solempnia aperte coram ipsis, sacrosanctis inspextis, quod in ecclesiis vel in capellis parochialibus, in quibus divina celebrant, eorum rectoribus seu vicariis vel eorum loca tenentibus vel quorum interest omnino inferrent dampnum seu prejudicium circa oblaciones, porciones, provenciones, denarios pro requestu, trintalia vel alia jura quocunque nomine censeantur. Immo quatenus in eis est, eosdem servabunt indempnes in premissis et singulis premissorum. Item, jurent eciam predicti sacerdotes specialiter quod odia, scandala, rixa, et contenciones inter rectorem seu vicarium vel vicem gerentem et parochianos nullo modo sustineant, aut aliquo modo faciant, sed quatinus in eis est concordiam nutriant inter eosdem; et ita in dicto archiepiscopatu non celebrent divina si expresse eis interdicatur, donec premissis prestiterint juramenta; vel per eos non stent quominus prestent. Et si celebrent in loco sic eis interdicto, irregularitatem incurrant preter alias penas, quas canones inducunt contrarium facientibus. Et si fuerint convicti coram archidiacono loci vel ejus officiali se infirmasse predicta juramenta, vel si fuerint infamati et se purgare nequeant, ammovebuntur omnino, et tanquam perjuri interdicatur eis divina celebracio in dicto archiepiscopatu, donec eis fuerit super hoc canonice dispensatum. Item, non audiant confessiones parochianorum ecclesiarum vel capellarum in quibus divina ministraverint, nisi in casu et jure permisso, nec oblaciones hujusmodi ecclesie sive capelle sibi appropriabunt, et sic crimen sacrilegii incurrant, nisi de licencia presidentium petita sit et obtenta. Item, debent interesse cancello, matutinis, vesperis, et aliis divinis officiis debitis horis induti superpeliciis, que sibi propriis sumptibus providebunt, et non in navi ecclesie, cimiterio vel campis erunt. Et si fuerint correpti super hiis per presidentem, non reddant se elatos nec erigent cervices contra presidentes, nec propter hoc excitabunt aliquos qui eos protegant et foveant. Et ad interessendum predictis horis et magnis missis debet injungi eis virtute obediencie quod sint presentes, legentes, caventes, et psalmodizantes. Dicti vero presbiteri dominicis diebus et festivis, vel si corpus alicujus defuncti affuerit, suas missas post lectum evangelium majoris misse incipiant et compleant, et non prius nisi licencia rectorum vel vicariorum ecclesiarum vel capellarum ubi celebraverint. Item, non exercebunt tabernas, spectacula, nec cellulas meretricum, nec ludos noxios vel prohibitos. Dicti vero rectores vel vicarii et eorum loca tenentes, debent benigne recipere juramentum predictum et manebit copia de premissis in ecclesiis suis.

F. 152. CONSTITUCIO PROVINCIALIS SEU ORDINACIO GENERALIS PRO ELECTIONE GARDIANORUM SIVE CUSTODUM ECCLESIE PRO CONSERVACIONE JURIUM LIBERTATUM ET BONORUM EJUSDEM.

Lege nature sufficienter sumus instructi carnales adorare parentes, multomagis spirituales, cum dicat Apostolus; "Anima plus est quam esca, et corpus plus quam vestimentum." Cum precipue tunc honorare oportet matrem nostram ecclesiam que semper regenerat ad vitam, non decet ergo filios ecclesie paupertate seu vilitate, necligencia seu ignorancia affectata eam aliquociens subjacere. Et ne talia sibi accrescant in magnum Christianitatis obprobrium, decretum est per leges ecclesiasticas et Constituciones provinciales, quod annuatim duo vel plures eligantur

Gardiani seu custodes ecclesie pro conservacione jurium libertatum et bonorum ejusdem, non ad depopulandum et devastandum. Sed modernis jam temporibus filii ecclesie non memores precepti legis sed secundum proprias voluntates laxarunt abenas, multociens contra legum decreta per plures annos continuando in eorum officio nec de bonis ecclesie computando, per quod gloria ecclesie pene vertitur in ignominiam, et honor ejus in nichilum. Igitur decretum est per venerabilem patrem et Dominum dominum Thomam Chempe Dei gratia episcopum London', ex unanimi consensu et assensu Magistri Willelmi Leek' vicarii Sancti Stephani in Colmanstrete London' et omnium parochianorum ejusdem ecclesie pro perpetuis temporibus futuris, ut mos est inter omnes Christianos, quod semper antiqui gardiani seu custodes predicte ecclesie Dominica ante festum Translacionis Sancti Eduuardi Regis et Confessoris fidelem reddant compotum in scriptis de omnibus bonis ecclesie et pecuniis per eosdem levatis sive receptis pro utilitate ecclesie predictis parochianis et gardianis de novo electis. Et si illo die prefato alique pecunie sive aliqua bona alia fuerint inventa in manibus predictorum antiquorum Custodum sive Gardianorum, omnibus prius fideliter computatis sive computandis, allocatis sive allocandis, pre manibus sine mora solvantur. Et libenter deliberantur [a] claves cum omnibus ecclesie pertinenciis vicario ejusdem ecclesie pro tempore existenti, et custodibus sive gardianis de novo electis integre cum arreragiis et creditoribus omnibus sub pena quadraginta solidorum eidem ecclesie solvendorum. Et si quis hujus nostre ordinacionis violator existat, in Omnipotentis Dei indignacionem incurrat, et propter suam inobedienciam quadraginta solidos predicte ecclesie solvat. Datum apud ecclesiam predictam, ij° die mensis Octobris, Anno Domini Millesimo cccc^mo^ sexagesimo octavo.

Hec Indentura testatur quod cum Willelmus prior de Butle et ejusdem loci Conventus ex una parte, et Ricardus Wetton pro rectore ecclesie Sancti Stephani in Colmanstrete London', se gerens, ex altera parte, se submiserint stare et obedire laudo, arbitrio, ordinacioni et judicio Reverendissimi in Christo patris et domini Thome Dei gratia Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi et Reverendorum in Christo patrum et dominorum domini Thome Dei gratia episcopi London' ac domini Willelmi Wyntoniensis episcopi Cancellarii Anglie, Johannis Fortescu, militis, capitalis justiciarii domini Regis ad placita coram ipso Rege tenenda assignati, Magistri Roberti Stillyngton et Magistri Johannis Druell in utroque jure doctorum, arbitratorum inter partes predictas, de et super jure titulo et possessione predicte ecclesie sive capelle Sancti Stephani, ac de et super omnimodis decimis oblacionibus et emolumentis quibuscumque ecclesiasticis eidem ecclesie Sancti Stephani predicto pertinentibus, seu in eadem decimari, offerri et percipi consuetis, ac omnibus accionibus, querelis, debatis et demandis inter partes predictas habitis sive motis, necnon de et super ordinacionibus quibuscumque per ipsos arbitratores pro bono et quieto regimine ecclesie sive capelle Sancti Stephani predicte ac ministrorum et parochianorum ejusdem faciendis, indifferenter electorum. Super quibus predicti arbitratores, accepto super se onere arbitrandi in premissis, vocatis coram eis partibus predictis cum eorum conciliis, visisque coram eisdem arbitratoribus scriptis, evidenciis, juribus et instrumentis suis premissa tangentibus, auditisque et intellectis parcium predictarum allegacionibus responsionibus et replicacionibus in ea parte habitis et factis, cum matura deliberacione de et super omnibus premissis prehabita; iidem F. 179.

[a] *Sic* in MS. for "deliberenter."

arbitratores pro eo quod coram eisdem per evidencias coram eis ostensas sufficienter compertum est quod Willelmus Geyton nuper prior de Butle predicta predecessor predicti nunc prioris et omnes predecessores sui a tempore quo non exstat memoria, fuerunt plene seisiti et in pacifica possessione de advocacione ecclesie Sancti Olavi in Veteri Judaismo London' una cum capella Sancti Stephani in Colmanstrete eidem ecclesie Sancti Olavi a toto tempore predicto annexa, quodque predicta ecclesia Sancti * Olavi una cum capella Sancti Stephani predicta eidem ecclesie Sancti Olavi in forma predicta annexa,*[a] cum suis juribus et pertinenciis, salva certa porcione assignata vicario predicte ecclesie Sancti Olavi, prefato Willelmo Geyton, nuper priori, tenenda sibi et successoribus suis imperpetuum sufficienter et legitime appropriata fuit, ac quod predictus Willelmus Geyton, nuper prior et omnes successores sui ac predictus Willelmus nunc prior de predicta ecclesia Sancti Olavi, una cum predicta capella Sancti Stephani in forma predicta appropriata, seisiti et possessionati fuerunt in jure ecclesie sue de Butle predicta in proprios usus suos, quousque jam de novo predictus nunc prior de possessione predicte capelle Sancti Stephani minus juste perturbatus extitit, arbitraverunt, ordinaverunt et adjudicaverunt quod predictus nunc prior et successores sui habeant et teneant predictam ecclesiam sive capellam Sancti Stephani ac ipsius pacificam possessionem in proprios usus imperpetuum absque perturbacione seu impedimento aliquo ipsius Ricardi imperpetuum. Et quod iidem prior et conventus et successores sui ad eandem ecclesiam sive capellam Sancti Stephani de cetero presentabunt idoneam personam ordinario loci ad vicariam ejusdem ecclesie sive capelle Sancti Stephani vicarium perpetuum in eadem in forma juris canonice instituendam et inducendam, qui [b] vicarius et successores sui pro sua congrua et honesta sustentacione et porcione sua percipiet singulis annis ad quatuor anni terminos; videlicet ad festa Sancti Michaelis Archangeli, Natalis Domini, Pasche et Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste equis porcionibus, ad cornu altaris dicte ecclesie sive capelle Sancti Stephani undecim libras de decimis, oblacionibus, fructibus et proventibus ejusdem ecclesie sive capelle per manus predicti prioris et conventus et successorum suorum vel procuratoris seu assignati sui ibidem existentis in promta et parata pecunia fideliter solvendas juxta ordinacionem composicionis in hac parte per ordinarium loci fiende. Proviso semper quod si vicarius ille seu successores sui pro tempore existentes alibi quam in vico vocato Colmanstrete sine licencia ordinarii permanserit seu se inhabitaverit, quod pro illo tempore idem vicarius pro tempore existens habebit tantomodo decem libras de predictis undecim libris. Et quod residuum inde, videlicet, viginti solidi, pro eo tempore quo sic alibi sine licencia ordinarii permanserit seu se inhabitaverit, predicto nunc priori et successoribus suis pro eo tempore remanebunt. Et quod predictus nunc prior vel successores sui per scriptum suum sufficiens in lege sigillo suo sigillatum, remittent et relaxabunt tam predicto Ricardo quam omnibus et singulis parochianis dicte ecclesie sive capelle Sancti Stephani, qui presencia laudum, arbitrium, ordinacionem et judicium modo et forma predictis observare et tenere perpetuis temporibus futuris et in nullo ea seu eorum aliqua contravenire, et sigilla sua voluerint, tam omnes et omnimodas acciones personales quam omnimodas execuciones versus ipsum Ricardum et parochianos predictos vel eorum aliquem, quas predictus nunc prior vel successores sui unquam habuerunt, habent seu aliquo modo habere poterint a principio mundi

[a] The passage between * * is underlined, and a later hand has noted in the margin:—Hoc probatur falsum per diversa recorda, quorum copia extant.

[b] Later marginal note:—Porcio vicarii Sancti Stephani.

usque in diem confeccionis presencium. In cujus rei testimonium arbitratores predicti hiis indenturis sigilla sua apposuerunt. Et ut predicta arbitrium, ordinacio et judicium predictum bene et fideliter et firmiter perpetuis temporibus futuris observentur, predicti prior et conventus per presentes concesserunt prefato Ricardo Wetton et Thome Hill, et Johanni Godeale custodibus bonorum eiusdem ecclesie sive capelle Sancti Stephani et parochianis eiu[s]dem, omnia predicta in forma predicta arbitrata ex parte sua bene et fideliter perpetuis temporibus futuris observare tenere et in nullo ea seu eorum aliquod contravenire in futurum. Similiterque tam predictus Ricardus Wetton' quam prefati custodes ac Johannes[a] Browne, armiger, Simon Hammes, armiger, Johannes Croweton', gentilman, Johannes Brewester, gentilman, Johannes Horne, gentilman, Willelmus Edy, draper, Henricus Asshewell, mercer, Robertus Barley, mercer, Thomas Cost, mercer, Robertus Ewell, Thomas Carter, Johannes Arnold, Ricardus Geffrey, Johannes Richard, Willelmus Richard, Johannes Standon', Johannes Fisshe, Nicholaus Hynde, Robertus Colman, Ricardus Colkoe, Thomas Browne, Johannes Byrde, Robertus Bylbarn', Rogerus Humfray, Johannes Bleseby, Johannes Bellers, Willelmus Baker, Radulphus Harmer et Willelmus Osborn' parochiani predicte ecclesie sive capelle Sancti Stephani, per presentes concesserunt prefato priori et conventui et successoribus suis omnia predicta in forma predicta arbitrata ex parte sua bene et fideliter perpetuis temporibus futuris observare et tenere, et in nullo ea seu eorum aliquod contravenire in futurum. In cuius rei testimonium uni parti huius indenture penes predictum Ricardum Wetton et parochianos predictos remanenti, predicti prior et conventus sigillum suum commune apposuerunt; alteri vero parti eiusdem indenture penes predictum priorem et conventum remanenti, predictus Ricardus Wetton et parochiani predicti sigilla sua separatim apposuerunt. Datum nono die mensis Julii, Anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo septimo, et anno regni regis Henrici Sexti tricesimo quinto, etc.

Scriptum per Johannem Ingylton capellanum, Anno Domini 1468.

[a] Johēns MS.

V.—*Notes on recent excavations on the supposed site of the Artemisium, near the Lake of Nemi, made by Sir John Savile Lumley, G.C.B.* *By* R. P. Pullan, *F.S.A.*

Read June 25, 1885.

The following brief observations have reference to a remarkable discovery that has very recently been made by Sir John Savile Lumley, Her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador at Rome, near the lake of Nemi. The excavations which he has carried on at that spot simultaneously with those at Cività La Vigna,—about which you have lately had a paper submitted to you,[a]—have apparently resulted in the identification of the site of the Artemisium—the shrine of Diana Aricina.

Antiquaries of all countries have long disagreed about the exact site of that celebrated edifice. Nibby—the great authority on ancient sites in the environs of Rome—supposed the temple of Diana to have been situated on an eminence overlooking the lake where now stands the village of Nemi.[b] Canina, in his work on the Campagna, gives an imaginary restoration of the temple, placing it on the road between Genzano and Nemi, on the right hand of the lake looking from Genzano towards Nemi.

Our fellow-countryman, the accomplished antiquary Sir William Gell,[c] made a shrewder guess. Still it was only a guess. After describing the remains of the *cella* of a small temple, which lies in the valley of Aricia immediately below the modern town, he suggests that the possibility of this being the ruin of the temple of Diana is worth noting. A second suggestion was however nearer the mark. In his description of the lake of Nemi he says, "Near the margin of the lake a little bay indents the shore on the north of the village of Nemi. At the

[a] *Archaeologia*, vol. xlix. pp. 367-381.

[b] Nibby, *Dintorni di Roma*, vol. i. pp. 254, 255; vol. ii. pp. 395, 397.

[c] *Topography of Rome and its vicinity*, by Sir W. Gell, F.S.A. Edited by Bunbury, 1846.

head of the bay, at the only cultivable spot close to the water, is found a species of quadrilateral peribolus within which two of the walls of a *cella* yet remain of ten or twelve feet in height. Had this been constructed with such materials as might be supposed coeval with the ancient temple of Diana, the question of the position of that building would no longer admit of a doubt: it consists however of *opus reticulatum* (of which style it is a good specimen), and is without any traces of the massive blocks of a more ancient edifice."

It was reserved for Sir John Savile Lumley however to dispel all doubt and to solve the question by the employment of that useful little implement the spade; for on digging beneath these walls of *opus reticulatum* he discovered the basement of a fine building constructed with massive blocks of *opus quadratum* adorned with bold mouldings of a very early period. From the evidence afforded by the architecture and by the inscriptions found amongst the ruins there is now hardly any doubt that he has resolved this great antiquarian problem by the discovery of the real site of the Artemisium.

The position of the Giardino del Lago, where the excavations are being carried on, corresponds with Strabo's description of the site of the temple, though on account of the mutilation of the texts that description is rather confused. He says:[a]—

"On one side of the way is Lanuvium . . . . . On the other side is the Artemisium, which is called Nemus, on the left side of the way leading from Aricia to the temple . . . . . The temple is in a grove, and before it is a lake of considerable size. The temple and water are surrounded by abrupt and lofty precipices, so that they seem to be situated in a deep and hollow ravine."[b]

The garden of the lake answers this description in every respect. The lake lies in the crater of an extinct volcano. Its sides are so precipitous that it is only practicable to descend to the borders of the water by winding paths in the garden of the Palazzo Cesarini, or on the north side near Nemi, where the little bay and cultivated spot of ground mentioned by Gell exists. The ancient approach to the Giardino del Lago was by a road which runs below the convent of the Cappucini, which has substructions of *opus reticulatum*.

In the sixteenth century numerous timbers were found in the lake near the Giardino. These were at first supposed to be the remains of an ancient ship of

[a] Strabo, bk. v. c. iii. § 12.

[b] The term Artemisium would seem to be more properly applied to the Temple than to the Grove. The Temple of Apollo Smintheus was called the Sminthium, that of Apollo Grynæus Grynium.

great size, but Nibby, upon an examination of the timber and tiles which were brought to light in his time, came to the conclusion that these were the remains of an ancient villa,[a] which Suetonius says was commenced upon the lake by Cæsar,[b] who in a fit of caprice ordered it to be pulled down before it was complete.[c] The road above-mentioned probably led to the villa as well as to the temple of Diana.

The Artemisium was celebrated for many reasons. In the first place for its antiquity, for tradition relates that it was founded by Hippolytus, the son of Theseus, after his resuscitation by Æsculapius.[d]

In the second place because the rites celebrated in it were barbarous and Scythic like those of the Tauric Diana. Human sacrifices were offered in it, and the high priest was always a fugitive slave who had succeeded in killing his predecessor. Near the temple stood a tree, and if a fugitive could break off a bough of it he was entitled to the privilege of fighting a duel with the existing priest, and if he conquered of being elected in his stead, and of succeeding to the title of *Rex Nemorensis*. He thus became a noted champion, and when the brutal Caligula was in want of sport he procured an antagonist to fight with the then reigning *Rex*, who had for many years enjoyed the honours of the priesthood.

In 1791 a fine slab of frieze of archaic character, representing the issue of such a combat, was found at Valarriccia. On the ground lies the vanquished official with his entrails protruding from a wound in his side; over him stands the victor with the fatal sword in his grasp, surrounded by four females in Etruscan robes, who seem to be rejoicing in his success and giving thanks to the gods for it.

This fine piece of sculpture was carried off to Russia soon after its discovery and unfortunately cannot be traced.

As the place where the slab was found was in the valley of Aricia, about two miles from the Lago di Nemi, and not far from the ruins of the *cella* already mentioned, its discovery gave rise to the theory entertained by Gell and other antiquaries that those ruins were the remains of the temple of Diana Aricina.[e]

[a] Nibby, vol. ii. p. 396.

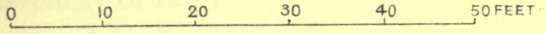
[b] Suet., *Cæs.* 46.

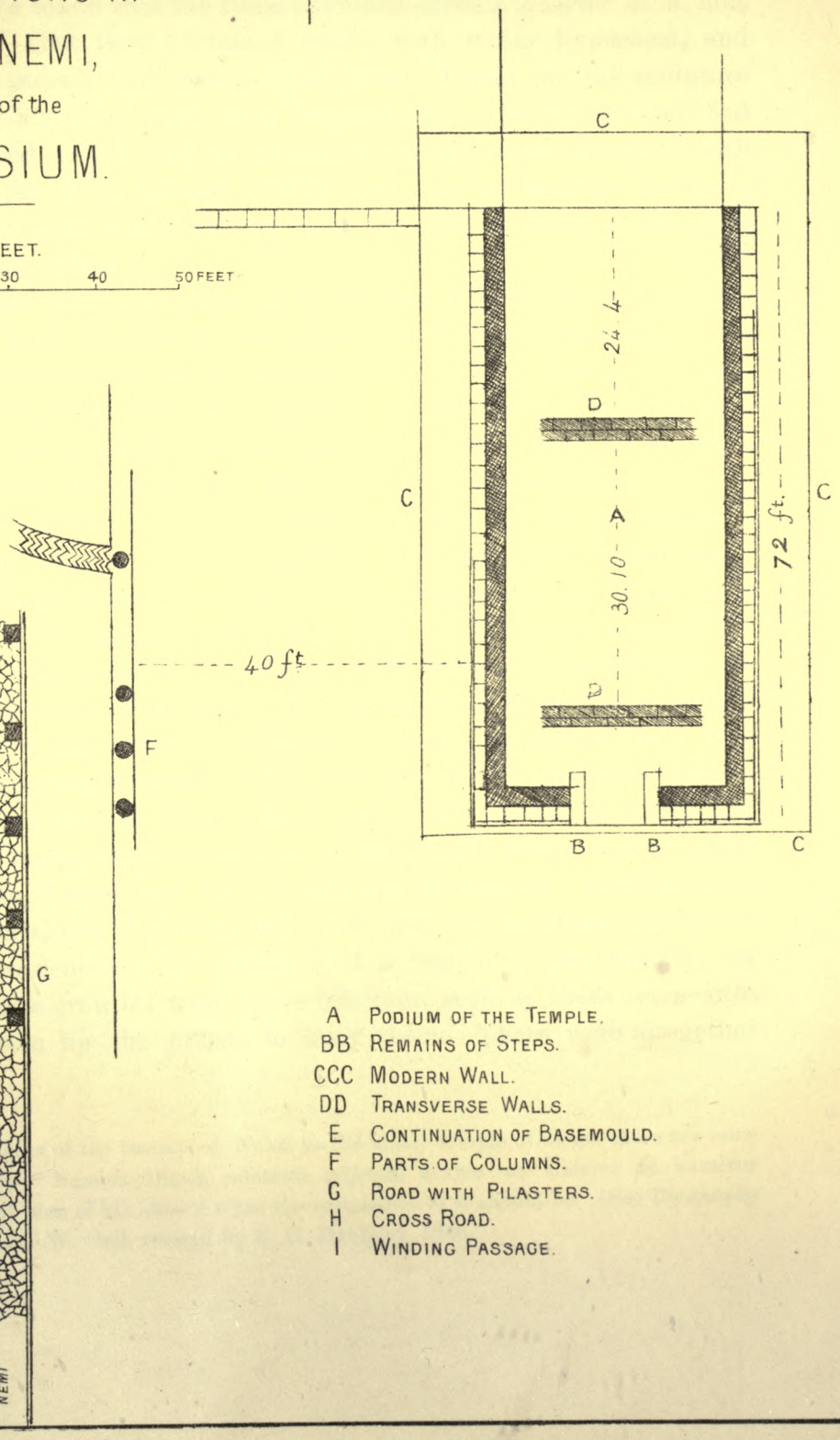
[c] There is a large piece of timber from this structure preserved in the British Museum.

[d] Paus. ii. 27, § 4.

[e] Some antiquaries suppose that there were two temples dedicated to Diana, one at Aricia, the other at Nemi, although it is not likely that there would be two celebrated shrines of the same goddess within two or three miles of one another; besides, Salmasius says, "Latini Aricinæ Dianæ templum proprie vocabant Nemus . . . Ex his locis constat Nemus proprie vocatum fuisse templum illud Dianæ Aricinæ quod in nemoribus positum esset." Sir W. Gell goes so far as to apply the

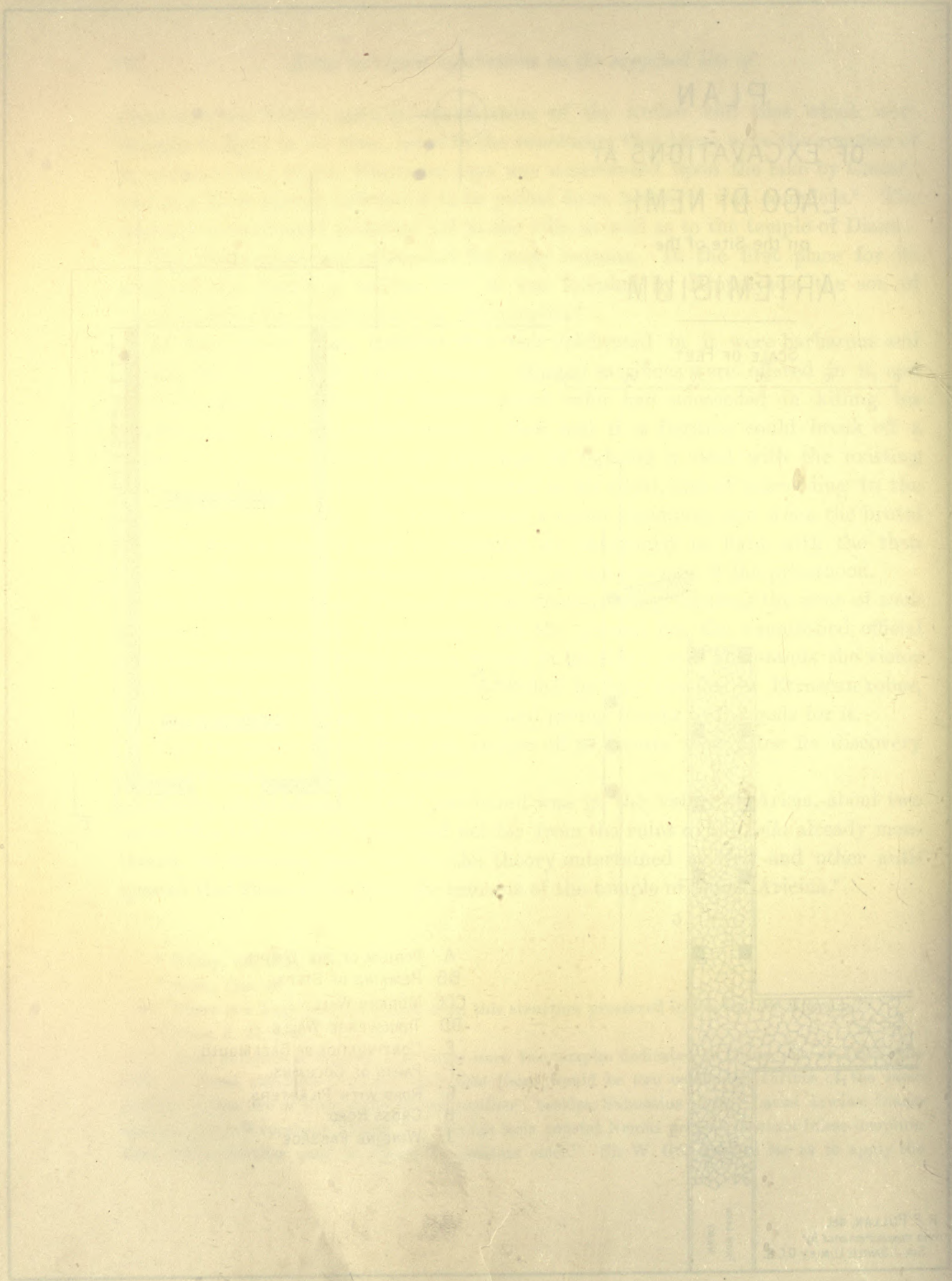
PLAN
OF EXCAVATIONS AT
LAGO DI NEMI,
on the Site of the
ARTEMISIUM.





A PODIUM OF THE TEMPLE.
BB REMAINS OF STEPS.
CCC MODERN WALL.
DD TRANSVERSE WALLS.
E CONTINUATION OF BASEMOULD.
F PARTS OF COLUMNS.
G ROAD WITH PILASTERS.
H CROSS ROAD.
I WINDING PASSAGE.

R. P. PULLAN, del.
from measurements by
SIR J. SAVILE LUMLEY G.C.B.



In the spring of last year I obtained from Prince Orsini permission to excavate on part of his property near Cività La Vigna, where there were some remains of a villa of Caligula. We found that the ruins extended about a quarter of a mile in each direction, and that they contained baths, with a fine hypocaust, and several chambers with mosaic and marble pavements. Pieces of fine sculpture were also discovered but they were very fragmentary. As the ground had evidently been disturbed before, and as numerous old olive-trees interfered with extensive operations, Sir John Lumley decided this year to abandon the *scavi* and to dig near some ruins which existed near the lake of Nemi, at the other extremity of the Prince's estate.

Sir John Lumley had often speculated as to the real site of the Artemisium, and no doubt he fixed upon this spot as that which was the most promising.

The following brief account of his operations as far as they have gone, compiled from his letters, together with an inspection of the various sketches and photographs which he has so kindly sent me, will enable you, I trust, to obtain a clear idea of the nature of the ground and the character of the buildings which he has discovered. They will also probably convince you that he has succeeded in the realization of his wishes, viz., the identification of the site of the Artemisium.

The Giardino del Lago, where Sir John Lumley began his excavations, is a large quadrangle about 300 metres square, two sides of which are bounded by very large niches of *opus incertum*, measuring eight metres in height and six metres across, with semi-domes over them. Twenty-eight of these niches are still in existence. In front of the niches at a distance of about four metres there is a wall ten metres high, forming a terrace. Two sides only of the enclosure remain. Trenches were opened in front of these niches, and at a distance of thirty feet from them numerous terra-cotta *ex votos* were found, chiefly heads with a great variety of head-dresses, hands and feet of different dimensions; amongst them were two rude representations of a horse and a cow and two or three anatomical figures. These were evidence of the existence of a temple in the vicinity, for when the temples became crowded with votive offerings, such as these terra-cotta figures, it was the custom for the priests to bury them. There were altogether

description given by Vitruvius of the temple of Nemi to the small temple of which there are some slight remains at Aricia. "Nemori Dianæ columnis adjectis dextra ac sinistra ad humeros pronai," and gives a ground plan of his idea of what the restoration of it should be. (See *Topography of Rome and its vicinity*, by Sir W. Gell, revised by E. H. Bunbury, 1846.

between three and four hundred of these *ex votos* dug up. Those shown on Plate VIII. are fair specimens of them.

Soon after this discovery Sir John Lumley commenced operations in the centre of the vast enclosure, and was soon gratified by finding the remains of a building of splendid masonry on the plan of a parallelogram. (Plate VII.)

He was able to trace the basement of this edifice for a distance of seventy-two feet on the east side and about half that length on the west. This basement consisted of a bold cyma having a projection of about two feet, backed by blocks of tufa. This no doubt formed part of the podium of a fine temple which inscriptions proved to be the long-sought shrine of Diana Aricina.

The inscriptions that were found among the ruins may be classified according to the date of the characters in which they are inscribed.

The earliest is cut in fine bold letters on a slab of marble so much broken that the word LATON alone remains. This evidently formed part of the name of Latona, the mother of Artemis, who was worshipped in temples dedicated to her daughter.

Another fragment of the marble called Verde Ranachia has, in deeply-cut letters almost as fine as those in the inscription first mentioned,

P · AVTRO · · ·
I · F · CO · · · ·

A third inscription is on a leaden pipe—

P · AMPHILVS · AUG · SER · FEC

A fourth, on a much-worn slab surrounded by a moulding, runs thus—

L · PONTIVS · · ·
O · PETRE · · · ·
C · PVPIL · I · · ·
M · L · AVG · · ·
L · ACC · · · · · · ·
· · · EC · · · · · · ·

The Phototype Coy.

EX VOTOS, *from the* ARTEMISIUM, near Lake Nemi.

A fifth, on a well-preserved slab (Plate IX.), has a dedication to Vespasian—

IMP · CAESARI
VESPASIANO · AVG ·
PONTIF · MAX · TR · POT · II ·
IMP · $\overline{VI}$ · P · P · COS · $\overline{III}$ · DESIG · $\overline{IIII}$ ·
VLVSQVE · ARI

A sixth inscription, in characters of a much later period than those already given, proves the existence of a shrine of Diana on this spot—

. . . . . .
M · MANLLIO · DOMESTICO · · · · · ·
L · OPPVNEIO · AVGVRINO · XII T · VOLTEDIO · INDICTORE · II · · ·
MARCELLO C LVCILIO · PIO

Then follows a distich hexameter and pentameter—

VNVS ES EX SACRIS CVI PARENT · DONA · DIANA
QVOD TRIBVIT · POPVLVS · RESTITVIS · POPVLO

A seventh is on a square label cut on the face of a marble column. It reads as follows:—

. . . . . .
AD HORREAS EM · · · · · ·
AD BALNEVM · VETVS
IN QVATTVOR
PLVMBI · PONDO LXIII
E · FLABELLA · NIDEM
DONVS · PRO · SE · ET · SVIS

Further excavations brought to light several pieces of a beautiful carved cornice in white marble ornamented with a Greek honeysuckle and other enrichments (Plate IX.)—this is fine in style and of early date—several terra-cottas, principally *antifixae*, and parts of small friezes. Two of the most noticeable are figures of females in low relief, wearing the tiara, and draped in the stola or chiton, with archaic folds and terminating in feathers. Each figure holds in each hand the paw of a lion, the other paw rests upon her breast. One of these figures is shown on Plate IX. These terra-cottas have been coloured; the upper gar-

ment has traces of red colour, the lower of alternate red and blue. Amongst the *ex votos* there are two or three representing anatomically either some internal disease or childbirth, from which it would appear that the priests of the shrine acted as surgeons or doctors. (See Plate VIII.)

On digging on the south side of the podium Sir John Lumley found traces of the steps which led from the level of the *temenos* to that of the peristyle. He also laid bare two transverse walls of *opus quadratum* laid with headers and stretchers; one 9·50 metres from the northern wall, and the other 7·50 metres further to the south. He also traced the fine basemould to a length of 40 feet at right angles to the north-east corner of the parallelogram of masonry. At about the same distance to the west and parallel to the main building he discovered a road laid with basalt running between a colonnade of square pilasters of excellent masonry. This road, which was paved with two layers of large blocks, led in the direction of the lake, and had a cross road of similar character but without pilasters leading into it. A curved passage paved with herring-bone tiles seems to have joined the covered road leading thence to the temple.

But the most interesting architectural features are three capitals which lie abacus downwards within the colonnade. From a rough sketch that has been sent to me it appears that these capitals are of the Doric order, but the sketch is not sufficiently clear to enable me to decide whether they are of Greek or Roman character. There is a square abacus with a rather flat ovolo and listels beneath it. The flutes, which finish some inches beneath the listels, seem to be semicircular in plan and to have fillets between them. If they should be of Greek character they will go far to prove that either the temple itself or the inclosure of the *temenos* was of the time of the Republic, as the Greek Doric order was seldom employed during the Empire. The lower order of the theatre of Marcellus is however an exception, as it is decidedly Greek in style. There is a small Greek Doric temple dedicated to Hercules crowning the hill upon which stands the Volcian town of Cori. This is apparently of late date, as the columns are much attenuated. Sebastiano Serlio, in his *Libra Terza d' Architettura*, 1562, page 72, gives an engraving of a Greek Doric column, with its entablature, which he says "fu trovato fuori di Roma sopra il fiume detto Teverone al ponte Nomentano." The examples of this style are however rare and belong to an early period. The capitals found at Nemi measure 2 feet 4 inches in diameter at the necking, therefore they could not have been much more than eighteen feet high. This seems too small a dimension for the columns of the temple. I therefore conclude that they belonged to the colonnade of the peribolus.

1.

2.

The Phototype Coy.

1. Portion of a Terra-cotta Frieze.
2. Inscription, and a portion of a White Marble Cornice.

} *From the* ARTEMISIUM, near Lake Nemi.

The flutes of these drums of columns terminate abruptly at a short distance from the necking of the capitals, and in one instance the flutes are carved on one side only. But this is no proof that that part of the edifice to which they belonged was left incomplete. For in many of the most celebrated temples of antiquity parts were left unfinished. I found in the temple of Minerva Polias, at Priene, that some of the bases were left uncarved, and in the temple of Apollo Branchidae, that one at least of the columns was left in block.

In addition to the terra-cottas, above one hundred bronze coins of various dates, a Samian cup with perfect glaze, the bronze latch of a lock, and various other small articles were found in the course of the *scavi*.

Sir John Savile Lumley is continuing the excavations with great vigour, and I hope by the commencement of the next session to be enabled to lay before you full details of the results of his discovery, which promises to be one of the most important of modern times.

[a] Since this paper was read, further proof of the truth of Sir Savile Lumley's surmise, that this was the site of the Artemisium, has been afforded by the discovery of a bronze implement of sacrifice, with the word DIANA inscribed upon it, and also of seventeen bronze statuettes of female figures, with buskins, bows, and quivers, the apparel of the huntress Diana. Eight hundred coins of Republican times have also been dug up, which help to confirm my conjecture as to the early date of the temple.

VI.—*On a Saxon Chapel at Deerhurst, Gloucestershire.* *By* John Henry Middleton, *M.A., F.S.A.*

Read November 26, 1885.

Though the parish church of Deerhurst is well known to archæologists as being one of the most important existing examples of a pre-Norman building in England, yet it was not suspected till last September that the same parish contained another specimen of what it is convenient to call Saxon architecture, which, though small, is in some respects more perfect than the parish church.

This appears to have been a private chapel attached to the manor house of Deerhurst.

The history of the manor, as far as it can be traced, is this—In the latter part of Edward the Confessor's reign, the manor of Deerhurst belonged to Pershore abbey, but in the last year of his life, 1065, the Confessor granted the manors of Pershore and Deerhurst to his royal abbey of St. Peter at Westminster. The charter making this grant, addressed to archbishop Ealdred and bishop Wlstan, is in the British Museum (Cotton MSS. *Faustina*, A. III. f. 109 b.). Another charter to the same effect is addressed to the Eorls and Theynes (*Faustina*, A. III. f. 112a.).

This grant was renewed by William I. and the Domesday Book records that the manor of "Derherst" belongs to the church of St. Peter at Westminster.

The following account is given of Deerhurst by Leland, writing in the reign of Henry VIII. (ed. of 1745, vol. vi. p. 69) :—

> It is now but a poore Village, and the Lordship longgid of late partely to the Abbate of *Theokesbyri*. Suche parte as *Westminstre* had was longging to *Persore* Abbay tyl *William Conqueror* gave it away.
>
> *Derehurst* Abbay had the Residew afore that the House of *Derehurste* was alienatid from the Monasterie of S. *Dionise* by *Parise*, to the which it was a Celle, and one *Hugo Magason*, a Monke of S. *Dionise* was the laste Prior aliene there yn King *Edwarde* the 4. Dayes, and aboute that tyme it was dissolvid, and moste of the Landes of it given to *Foderingey*, and *Eton*

College, as it is said, had sum Title. After Sute betwixte the Colleges and the Abbay of *Theokesbyri* Debatinges was, and after longe Tracte a final Ende made in Henry the 7. days that the Priory of *Goldeclife*, longging then newly to *Teokesbyri*, should go with the Landes to *Foderingey* College, and *Dehorhurst* onto *Theokesbyri*. *Bede* makith mention that yn his tyme there was a notable Abbay at *Derehurste*. It was destroyed by the *Danes*. *Werstanus* fledde thens, as it is sayde, to *Malverne*. The *Frenche* Order was an Erection syns the Conquest. The olde Priory stode Est from *Severn* a Bow shotte, and North of the Town.

The house, which in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was built over the chapel, is still known as the "Abbot's Court," and it remained in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey till quite recent years, when it was transferred to the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

The existence of the Saxon chapel was only brought to light during the commencement of some repairs undertaken last September, in order to make the house which concealed it fit for occupation. This house had for long been used as a farm building, but, having been empty for some time, had got into a very dilapidated state. It is a fine example of a Gloucestershire half-timbered house, such as the neighbouring town of Tewkesbury is very rich in.

The nave of the chapel has been divided into two stories by a floor which cuts across the chancel arch, but otherwise is unaltered, and the walls appear to exist to their original height—see section on Plate X. The chancel is covered by another wing of the house, with fine timber-work in square panels, with four curved braces in each.

This part of the house is of the sixteenth century.

The chancel arch and doorways, with their characteristic Saxon stonework, had been blocked up and plastered over, and new windows had been cut through the old walls at two levels, so it was not till the plastering began to be removed that the Saxon work came to view. The woodcut at the end of this paper shows the manner in which this later house covers the ancient chapel.

This chapel consists of a nave about 25 feet long by 15 feet 10 inches wide, and a chancel 14 feet by 11 feet 2 inches. The walls are 2 feet 3 inches thick, built of thin pieces of the local blue lias, averaging only from one to two inches in thickness, set with very thick mortar joints, so that there is more mortar than stone in the wall. The style of this walling strongly resembles that of some Roman masonry in the fourth century.

The chancel arch, doorways, and angle quoins of the chapel are of hard, white oolitic limestone, very neatly dressed and jointed. The quoins tend only slightly towards the arrangement known as "long and short work."

The chancel arch (see Plate X.) is semi-circular, slightly stilted or horse-shoe in form, with unmoulded voussoirs worked very accurately: on the nave side it had a label mould, which has been hacked away nearly flush with the wall.

The impost stone of this arch is moulded in a characteristically Saxon fashion: (See Plate X.).

The north door in the nave (nearly half of which remains) is similar in style to the chancel arch, except that the impost stone is unmoulded, and the opening was of course much smaller: it is now blocked up.

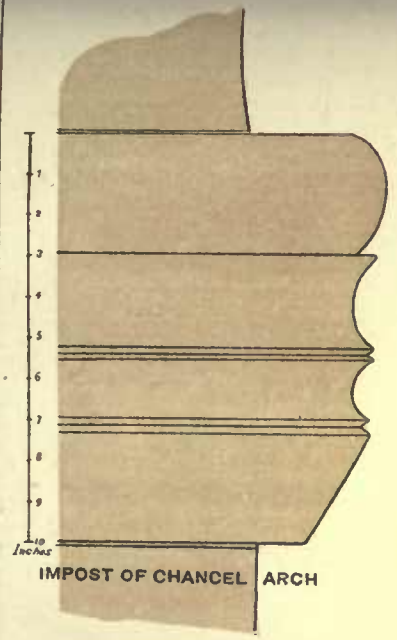
Only one stone of the jamb of the south door now remains, but that is sufficient to show that it was opposite the north door (see plan).

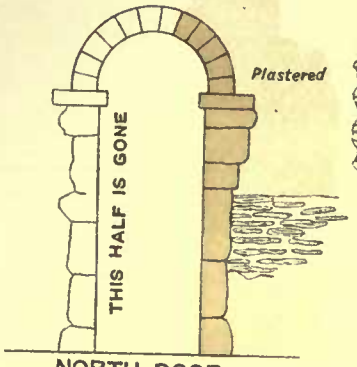
One of the most interesting features of the chapel is the existence of two of the original nave windows (see A on the drawing), with their sills about 10 feet 6 inches above the ground. These are splayed inside and out, and have semi-circular arches roughly built of the thin blue lias: they have no quoins of dressed stone, but are plastered inside and out, the stucco being rounded at the edges of the jambs and arch.

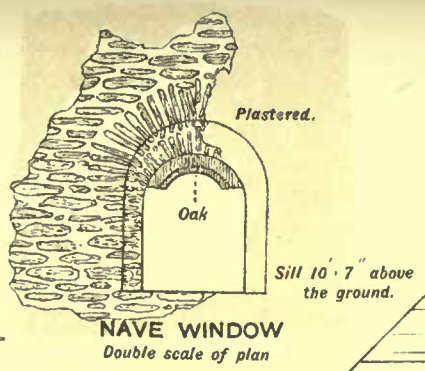
In one window what appears to be part of its original oak casement still remains firmly built into the masonry of the wall; it is a simple slab of oak, 2 inches thick, in which a small round-arched opening has been cut. The edge of this opening has no trace of any filling-in, and the window was probably open to the air. I tried in vain to find marks of osier wattle-work, with which Saxon windows were sometimes filled in, as at Avebury church, near Marlborough, where round-headed stone windows of pre-Norman date were discovered a few years ago. A row of holes, some still containing stumps of willow twigs, in the stonework of the Avebury windows showed that they had once been filled in with a wattle screen.

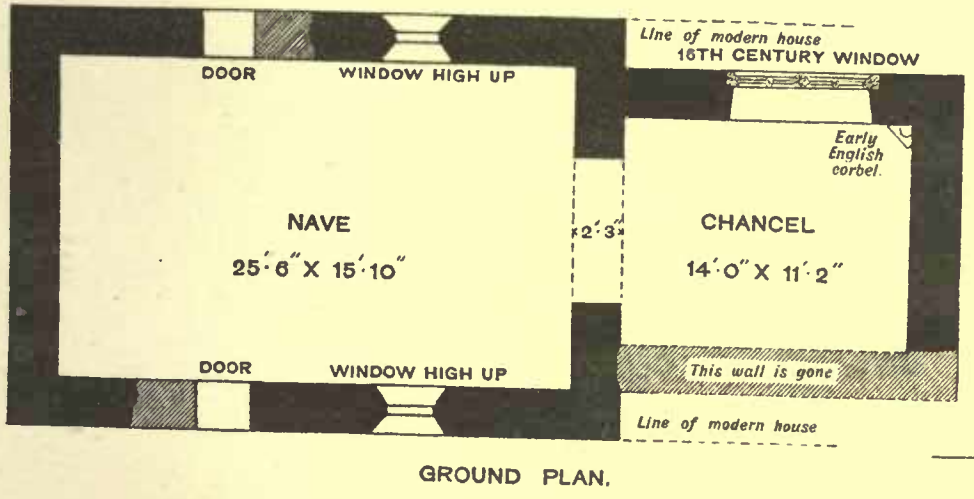
The south wall of the chancel is wholly gone: it was evidently pulled down when the sixteenth-century house was built, and so there are no remains of any piscina, nor is any mark of the altar visible against the east wall. There is also no sign of any east window, but it may be blocked up and hidden under later plastering. In the north-east angle of the chancel an early-English corbel has been inserted.

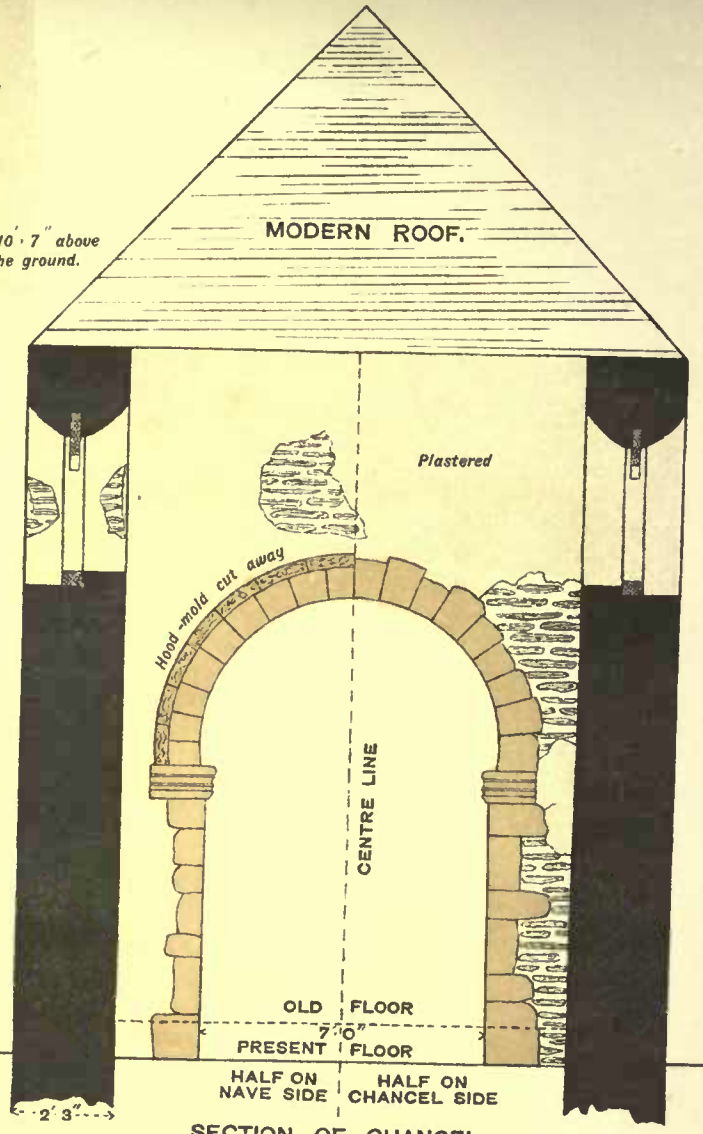
The whole building, with the exception of the dressed quoins, was originally plastered, both inside and out, with a thin coat of hard white stucco, only thick enough to hide the projecting inequalities of the blue lias rubble-work. The quoins do not project to receive this plastering, but, in the usual medieval way, the stucco is thinned down with the trowel to where the dressed stone begins.

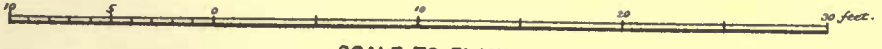












W. Griggs, Photo-lith.,

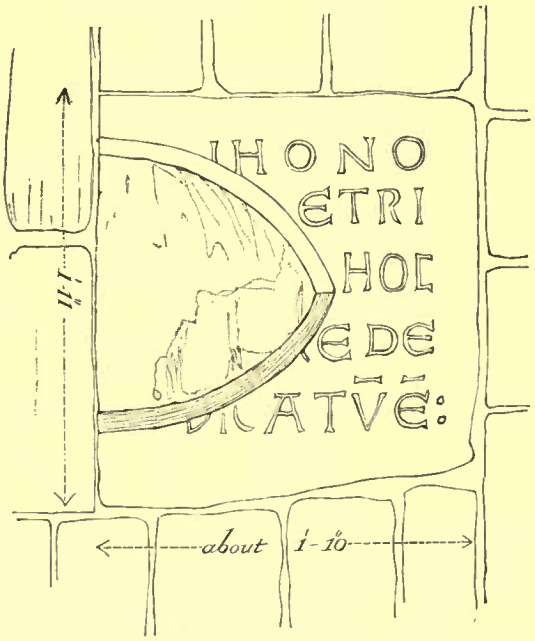
J. H. MIDDLETON.

SAXON CHAPEL AT DEERHURST.

As the internal plastering has many times been lime-whitened or papered, it is now difficult to distinguish which is the original stucco, and so there is considerable risk of destroying the old plastering in the search for blocked-up windows.

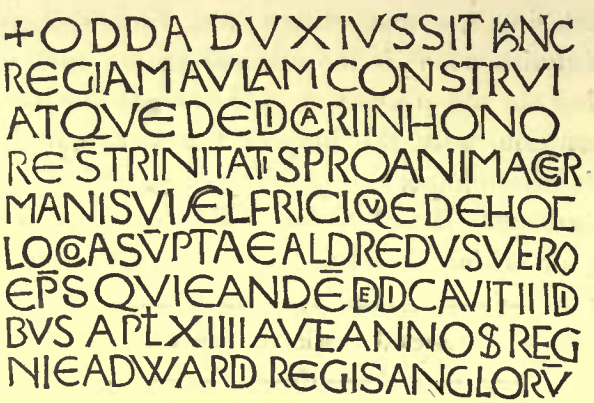
This short description, with the help of the accompanying drawings, will, I think, show that this little chapel is a building of great interest, and an important addition to the rather scanty list of Saxon buildings still existing in this country.

The inscription, of which I submit a rubbing to the Society, is, though mutilated, of much value (see Plate X.). It is cut on a slab of limestone, the same as that used in the dressed work of the arches, and is now built into a chimney stack, part of the above-mentioned house, which seems to have been added in the early part of the seventeenth century.



INSCRIBED SLAB.

This slab, which is nearly 2 feet square, has, during the early-English period, been cut away to form it into the head of a lancet window, and thus part of the inscription is missing. There can be, I think, little doubt that this inscription is of the same date as the Saxon chapel, that is, about the year 1056. The form of its letters much resembles that of another inscription, which is recorded to have been found near the parish church in 1675, and is now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. A facsimile of the latter is here given :



This Oxford inscription, dated the fourteenth year of the reign of the Confessor (1056), records that duke Odda built and dedicated in honour of the Holy Trinity a *regia aula*. It runs thus, "+ Odda Dux jussit hanc regiam aulam construi atque dedicari in honore S Trinitatis pro anima germani sui Ælfrici que de hoc loco asūpta Ealdredus vero Eps qui eandē dedicavit II idibus Apl XIIII aute(m) anno regni Eadwardi Regis Anglorū." It has been supposed that the strange phrase *regia aula* is pedantic Latin for *basilica*, and refers to the parish church. Assuming this to be the case, we should have 1056 as the date of the building of the church; and the stone-work and details of the newly discovered chapel so closely resemble those of the church, that it is reasonable to suppose them to have been built about the same time.

The inscription reads thus, with missing letters supplied conjecturally by our Fellow Mr. Micklethwaite:—

[+ IN HONO
[RE S̄ P]ETRI
[APLI] HOC
[ALTARE DE
DICATV̄ Ē:

One point at least is clear about this slab, namely, that it was set up near an altar in this little chapel to record to what saint the altar was dedicated.

This was done in accordance with a canon of archbishop Wulfred, A.D. 816, which ordered that on or by every altar should be an inscription recording its dedication—

"Præcipimus unicuique Episcopo ut habeat depictum in pariete Oratorii aut in tabulâ vel etiam in Altaribus quibus sanctis sint utraque dedicata."[a]

[a] Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. i., p. 169.

After the twelfth century this canon appears to have been neglected, and hence such inscriptions as this are very rare.

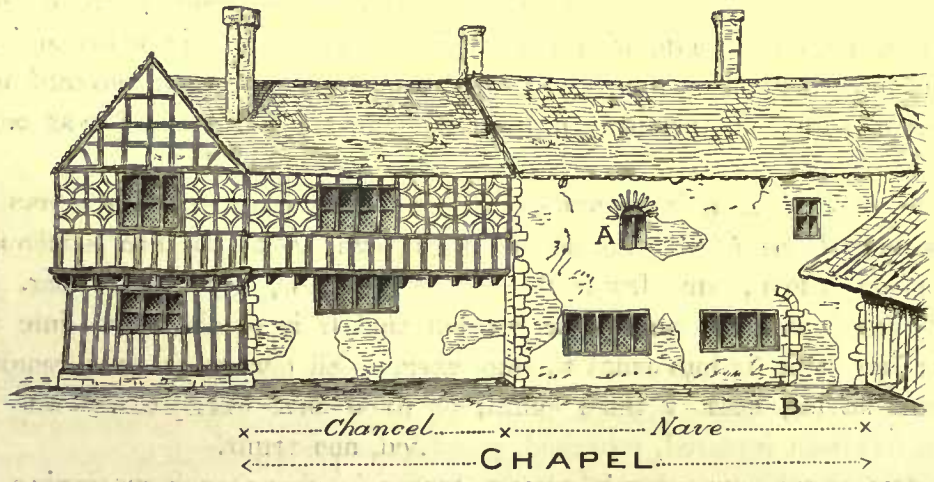
One still exists painted on the wall by one of the crypt altars in Canterbury cathedral church, but I do not know of any other English examples.

The Rev. G. Butterworth, vicar of Deerhurst, suggests a different reading of the inscription; making its dedication not to St. Peter, but, like that of the Ashmolean slab, to the Holy Trinity. He supplies the missing part thus—

[+ IN̄ HONO
[RE SC̄]E TRI
[NITATIS] HOC
[ALTARE DE
DICATV̄ Ē:

Mr. Butterworth moreover believes that the Ashmolean inscription refers not to the parish church, but to this little chapel. So that both these inscriptions would belong to the same building—the one to the dedication of the whole structure, the other to that of its high altar.

The chapel stands only about five hundred yards from the church, and it is possible that the Ashmolean slab, said to have been dug up "near the church," may really have been found still nearer to the chapel, the existence of which was probably not then known (in 1675).



General view of the Chapel from the north, showing the manner in which the sixteenth-century house is built on to it.

VII.—*Remarks on the fifteenth-century Diptych of the Chevalier Philip Hinckaert, Chastelain de Tervueren, in Brabant.* *By* Everard Green, *F.S.A., Hon. Member of the Spalding Society.*

Read 26 November, 1885.

The diptych I exhibit before our Society belongs to our Fellow Mr. Walter Metcalfe, who bought it some twenty years back at Phillipps's sale rooms in Bond Street. After hanging the diptych up in the hall of his house in the country, Mr. Metcalfe gave the picture to a parish church in Essex; but it was not admired, and a new organ, with smart pipes, was erected in front of it. Mr. Metcalfe, therefore, at my suggestion, asked to have the diptych returned to him. After some delay, and certain forms gone through, this request was complied with.

The diptych is in a black-and-gold frame, and, when open, measures 5 feet 4 inches in width by 2 feet 6 inches in height, and from the interpenetration of the molding above, and from the chamfer below, our Fellow Mr. Pullan believes that it was not only made for, but that it is of the same date as, the diptych; and this is important to remember, as all chance is thus removed of there ever having been a third panel, as some have suggested. The frame, however, has been repaired, rebacked, repainted, and regilt.

The two panels are of oak, almost square in shape, each measuring 2 feet 5 inches in width by 2 feet $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in height. Both panels are painted in oils, and no gilding is used. The name of the painter is unknown, but after a long

and careful study of the diptych, I think it would be quite safe to call it of the later school of Roger Van der Weyden,[a] who died at Brussels in 1464.[b] The diptych certainly belongs to the latter half of the fifteenth century, and the Baron de Cosson, no mean authority, suggests the date 1480-1500.

The dexter panel, of which the accompanying plate is a careful illustration in monochrome, will first engage our attention. We have, on its dexter side, an achievement, consisting of a shield of arms, surmounted by a crest, helmet, and mantling. This shield, which is quarterly—1 and 4, *Sable, billetée a lion rampant argent crowned Or;* 2 and 3, *Sable, a lion rampant Or*—was the first puzzle, as to find the 1 and 4 quarters with a field *sable* seemed an impossibility. At last, however, I found in *Le Grand Théâtre Sacré du Duché de Brabant* (vol. i. 383), an engraving of the same quarterly shield on a tomb in the parish church of Betecom, near Brussels, and from the monumental inscription discovered that the arms belonged to the family of Hinckaert. No crest is there given, and the crest on the diptych Mr. Metcalfe, after long research, found engraved in *Giessenburg.*[c] This crest is a maiden's head issuant from a floriated crest-coronet of black iron, studded with seven gold studs or jewels, and her head-dress has at least four black plumes attached to a tight-fitting cap of black velvet. Around her shoulders is a close-fitting ermine cape (which has a yellow collar, fastened by a button), and it is drawn through the crest-coronet, forming the ermine mantling, which is doubled *Gules.*

Besides the arms, the badge or device, which is fifteen times repeated, either wholly or in part, as a powdering on the scarlet cloth-of-estate and its canopy, baffled us for a long time, and it was not until we had consulted various German and Dutch dictionaries that we found a clue to its meaning.

In these dictionaries we found that the word *hincker* meant a lame man, a limper, a cripple; and the word *aerdt* a man's nature; and it is evident that the badge or device is a cradle for the leg, and the sort of heraldic knot above it, on the ends of which a buckle and mordant may be noticed, is a leather strap to fasten the cradle on to the limb.[d]

[a] Didron, *Annales Archéologiques*, tome xxi. pp. 241-251.

[b] Bryan and Stanley, *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers*, 1858, p. 906.

[c] Giessenburg, *De Ridderschap Van Veluwe*, 1859.

[d] In the church of St. Giles Cripplegate, London, one of the verger's staffs is surmounted by the figure of a cripple who uses a leg-cradle even more like that in the diptych than the example given in Fairholt's *Costume in England*, London, 1860, p. 160.

The device is clearly a canting rebus on the name of Hinckaert.

On either side of the rebus are the Gothic letters P. and G.

The P. no doubt stood for Philip, and in the diptych the figure standing behind the knight is easily identified as that of St. Philip the Apostle, his heavenly patron, who presents his client to our Lady, who is holding her Divine Son in her arms for the adoration of the knight.

That the kneeling knight was a Philip Hinckaert seemed certain, and then looking into Butkin[a] we found, in the Hinckaert pedigree, that the Chevalier Philip Hinckaert, Chastelaine de Tervueren in Brabant, who died the 9th day of January, 1459-60, had married a lady whose christian name was Gasparine. So the G. was satisfactorily accounted for.

Mr. Metcalfe has also discovered a large view of the castle of Tervueren, in *Le Grand Théâtre Sacré du Duché de Brabant*;[b] and it is pleasant, first to look at the kneeling figure of the Chevalier Philip Hinckaert, and then at the view of the old-world castle of which he was chastelain.[c]

This castle of Tervueren is seven miles east of Brussels, and is now a royal residence,[d] and George St. George, in his *Saunter in Belgium* in the summer of 1835, mentions his "visit to the palace of the Prince of Orange at Tervueren."

Having, I trust, proved who the kneeling knight is, I will now describe this dexter panel.

[a] Butkin, *Trophées du Duché de Brabant*, La Haye, 1724-6, vol. i. p. 662.

[b] Tome i. p. 313.

[c] There is also another view of the *Casteel van Tervueren*, with the following account, in *Les délices des Pays-Bas*, Paris, 1786, tome i. p. 190.

"*Tervuren*, ancien château, bâti par les Ducs de Brabant, dans la Forêt de Soigne, est à deux lieues et demie de Bruxelles: on voyoit à l'entrée une salle d'une grandeur immense, et d'une largeur extraordinaire, dont on admiroit la charpente qui étoit à découvert. Il est assez difficile de savoir à quoi cette salle étoit employée. Le bâtiment du Château n'avoit rien d'ailleurs de fort remarquable; mais le parc en étoit fort agréable, par les embellissements que le Duc Charles de Lorraine y avoit fait faire. Tout fut démoli en 1784."

[d] Il n'y a qu'un pas de Saventhem à *Tervueren*, où se trouvait autrefois un des châteaux les plus aimés des ducs de Brabant. Il n'en reste plus que le parc et une chapelle dédiée á Saint Hubert par les Archiducs Albert et Isabelle. Le château a été remplacé, sous le gouvernement des Pays-Bas, par un élégant pavillon que la nation a fait construire pour le prince héréditaire et qui, cédé à l'état belge, après le traité de 1839, est aujourd'hui assigné á l'héritier présomptif du trône. *Guide-hen, La Belgique pittoresque*, 1858, deuxième partie, p. 62.

See also Keith Johnston, *General Gazetteer*, London, 1860, p. 1197; and Fullarton, *Gazetteer of the World*, vol. vii. p. 67.

The foreground is a pavement of black-and-white marble, which on the dexter side ends at a very abrupt angle, no doubt to give perspective.

The background is chiefly taken up with the cloth-of-estate, the canopy of which extends the whole width of the panel. Both are of scarlet stuff.

The canopy is edged with a green fringe and worked upon it are four powderings of the leg-cradle with the letters P. and G. Towards the right is a pendant curtain of scarlet folded up like a bag.

The cloth-of-estate has a narrow green border with an inner detached line of white, and the powderings of the rebus and letters P. and G. are eleven in number. The letters and leg-cradle are painted yellow, the leather strap green, the buckle and mordant yellow.

Under the centre of the canopy, at a *prie-dieu*, kneels Sir Philip Hinckaert, Chastelain de Tervueren. On the *prie-dieu* (which is covered with pink-red drapery) lies a closed book, in a long bag-like green stuff cover,[a] laid upon a long strip of inscribed parchment, one end of which hangs down. This is illegible, but looks like a deed of gift.

Sir Philip Hinckaert has a highly refined and earnest expression. He is bare-headed, and his face is entirely shaven. He looks past middle-life, and is clad in black armour, over which is a tabard-like surcoat embroidered with the arms of Hinckhaert and Brabant quarterly.

His bare hands are joined in prayer, and the thumbs are not crossed, but placed thumb against thumb.

On the first finger of the right-hand is a plain ring, in the bezel of which is a red sard.

[a] For examples of these covers see Becker und Hefner: *Kunstwerke und Geräthsch aften*, 1863, 3 Band, p. 56;

Fairholt, *Costume in England*, 1860, p. 219;

Shaw, *Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages*, 1843, vol. ii. plate 86, part of a room from a picture by John Sehozeel, and plate 78, *Saint Agnes;*

Bock, *Geschichte der liturgischen Gewänder des Mittelalters.* Bonn, 1866, Taf. xxxi.

Laborde, *Glossaire Français du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1872, p. 211), where there is the following note:—

"Chemises a Livres. Enveloppes et sacs dans lesquels on enfermait les livres pour préserver leurs riches reliures. On disait aussi couverture et chemisette. Le luxe aidant, ces chemises devinrent elles-mèmes très-riches.

1360. Pour cendal à doubler la converture du Messel du Roy.

—— Pour la façon de deux envelopes pour le Roy. (*Comptes royaux.*)

1463. Pour faire une chemisectes aux petites heures du Roy. (*Comptes royaux*).

1492. Ung petit messel, couvert de cuir rouge, garni d'une chemisette de chevrotin rouge, *Inventaire de Nostre Dame*).

A short staff, tipped at either end with ivory, "to express his curiall office," rests against the *prie-dieu;* and the pommel and hilt of the sword, on the far side, should be noted.

On the pavement, at his side, and close to the *prie-dieu*, are his gauntlets and helmet. The latter is decorated with eight plumes, four white and four red. These feathers are studded with "*musers or trembling spangles of gold.*" [a]

Saint Philip the Apostle, the heavenly patron of the Chevalier Hinckaert, it may be as well to mention, is the patron-saint of Brabant; and Mrs. Jameson [b] states that "single figures of St. Philip, as patron, are not common;" which statement adds to the interest of this diptych.

The Apostle is here represented standing, and as a man in the prime of life. His countenance is benign. He is bare-headed, has a slight beard and moustache, and long brown hair.

He is clad in a green robe, over which is a pink-red mantle, and he bears in his left-hand, as his emblem, the *crux gestatoria*, or processional cross.

His right-hand rests on the right-arm of the chevalier, whom he is presenting to our Lady.[c]

The right-heel of the apostle is just visible, and should be noted.

The standing figure of our Lady will next engage our attention. Her tight-fitting dress is green, under which is one of a pink-red colour, and over her green dress is a white mantle falling into beautiful crisp folds.

She is bare-headed, and her long tresses of auburn hair fall over her shoulders in rich luxuriance.

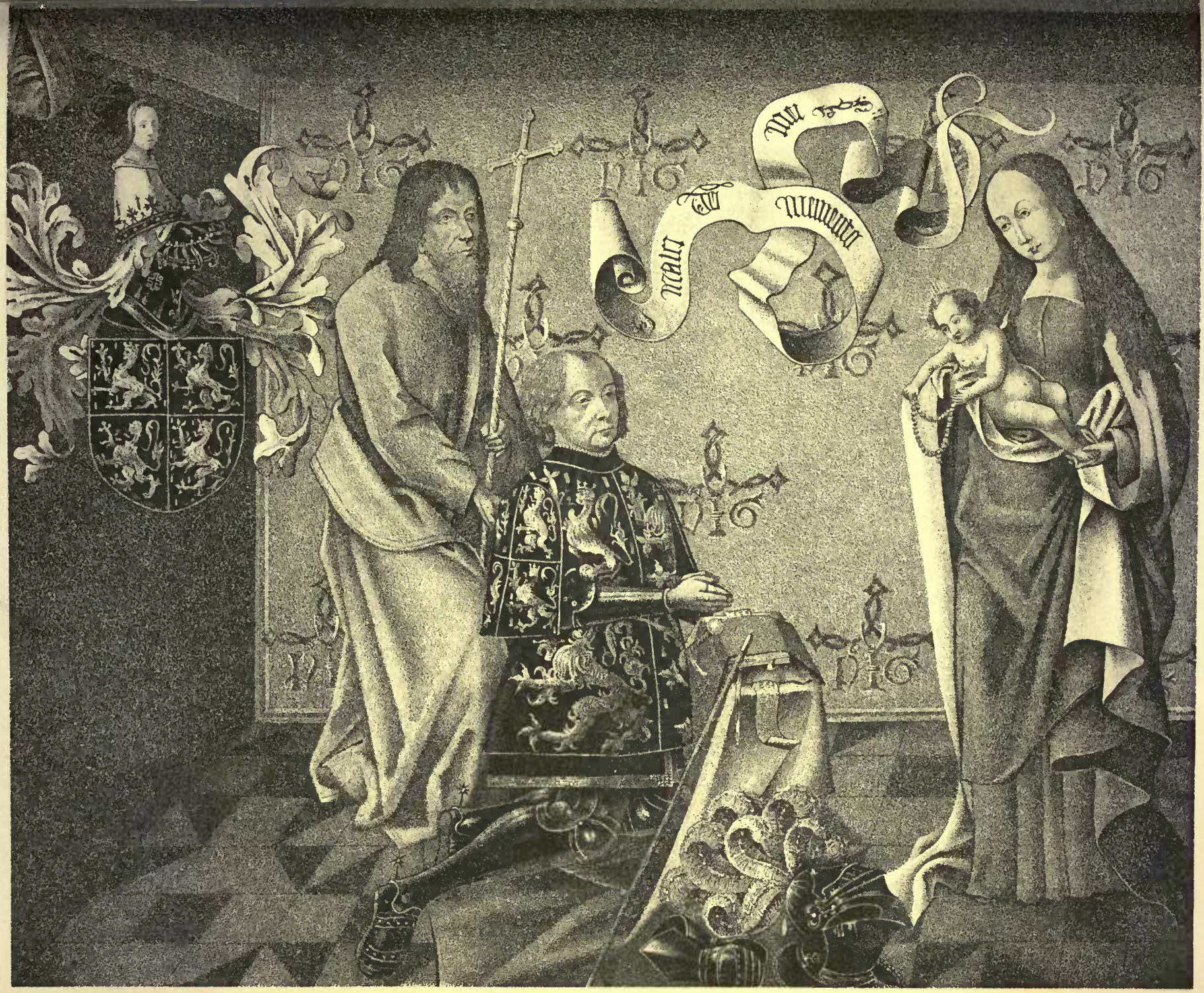
[a] Hall's *Chronicle*, second year of King Henry VIII. fol. ix.

[b] *Sacred and Legendary Art*, fourth edition, 1863, vol. i. p. 242.

[c] Our Fellow Mr. Edmund Waterton, in his very interesting book *Pietas Mariana Britannica* (London 1879), says: "Anglo-Saxons and Normans, both alike, applied to the Blessed Virgin the title of *Our Ladye*, and this title is a precious inheritance from our Catholic forefathers and is applied exclusively to the Blessed Virgin. The same cannot be said for the word *Madonna*, as Polo Capello calls Lucrezia Borgia *Madonna* Lucrezia, and the *Fioretti* of St. Francis speak of Madonna Giacomo. Indeed it would be difficult to mention a nation, except Ireland, which has not adopted this pleasing form of addressing our Ladye. So we find

Δεσποίνα ἡμῶν, in Greek.
Domina Nostra, in Latin.
Nostra Donna, in Italian.
Nuestra Señora, in Spanish.
Notre Dame, in French.

and in Germany and the Low Countries Our Ladye is called, Unsere liebe Frau, onze Lieve Vrouwe, our dear Ladye." It is also to be noted that in *The Book of Common Prayer*, in the table of *Proper Lessons for Holy-days*, the words *Annunciation of our Lady* occur.



DEXTER PANEL OF THE DIPTYCH OF PHILIP HINCKAERT.

With her right hand she supports the infant body of her divine Son, whose baby feet she upholds with the left, and she is represented as showing Him to the devout gaze of the good knight, who, without fear and without reproach, is engaged in prayer.

The infant Christ is quite naked; and He alone, of all the figures in the diptych, has a nimbus, or rays of glory, about His head. These rays are arranged in quintuplets.

With both hands the divine Infant holds a red coral rosary, gauded at irregular intervals with seven larger gold beads, and with a gold pendant.

The scroll in this Hinckaert diptych is worthy of some attention, and bids fair to rival the celebrated scroll of Lucas Cranach, in his interesting picture of the *Adoration of the Rood*, which was reproduced by Mr. James Ackerman in the *Building News* of the 13th of October, 1882.

Cranach's engraving is dated 1505, and, like so many of his pictures, is enlivened with heraldry.

The legend on the scroll in the Hinckaert diptych is—

O mater Dei memento mei

and the same words greet one at every turn, on medieval seals, rings, monumental-brasses, etc.

Here, in this diptych, the legend—

O Mater Dei memento mei,

is the prayer of Sir Philip Hinckaert, who, no doubt as often as he used it, thought of his illustrious great-grandfather, the Chevalier Gerrelin *alias* Hinckaert, of whom we read in the *Annals of the Church of Brussels*, that being lame he cried again and again—

Mater Dei memento mei,

when one day the answer—

Marche droit Hinckaert

came to him in prayer, and he that aforetime was lame was made straight and glorified God.[a]

It is interesting to note that Rietstap, in his *Armorial Général*, gives us these words—*Marche droit Hinckaert*—as the motto of the Hinckaert family.

[a] This Chevalier Gerrelin *alias* Hinckaert, on whom this notable miracle was worked, married Margaret de Malines, daughter of Jenniken de Malines, bastard son of John, duke of Brabant; and the arms of Brabant, viz.: Sable, a lion rampant Or, are quartered by Philip Hinckaert in his achievement in this diptych.

The sinister panel represents the scene on Calvary after the legs of the two thieves had been broken, and the blood and water had flowed from the wounded side of the second Adam.

The dead body of the world's Redeemer is fastened to the rough cross by three nails. The head is crowned with fresh green thorns, and inclines to the right, and the wound of the lance is on the right side. The title, which is nailed to the cross with four nails, is white with black letters, and over the I N R I—*Jesus Nazarenus Rex Judæorum*—are four marks of contraction.

The two thieves are tied to their crosses with cords.

The good thief is on the right hand of our Lord. His eyes are tightly blindfolded with a piece of white linen. His face is turned towards the Redeemer, and his loins are girt with a linen cloth. He is represented as a young man, and there is no trace of hair about his face.

The bad thief is on the left hand of our Lord. His hair and beard are thick and matted, and the painter has done his utmost to make him look repulsive. He too wears a loin-cloth, and the bandage that blindfolds him is just visible beneath his matted hair.

At the foot of the cross of the good thief, now that all is over, sits the sore-distressed *Mater Dolorosa*, who up to the last had stood by the cross of her divine Son. She is upheld by St. John the beloved disciple, and by Mary wife of Cleophas, who both, partaking in her pain, mingle their tears with hers and share her grief.

The face of the *Mater Dolorosa* is swollen with weeping, her eyelids sunk with heaviness, and her hands clasped in resignation. Thumb crosses thumb. She is dressed in blue, and has a greenish grey mantle. All her hair is hidden by a white coif-like head-dress, which falls around her neck.

Saint John is bareheaded, and his reddish curly hair falls on his neck. He has no hair on his face, and is clad in a red robe and mantle. His youthful brow is knit, and his eyelids are swollen with weeping.

Mary wife of Cleophas has a tight-fitting pink-red dress cut square in front, with a dark green mantle. She has her right hand on the shoulder of Our Lady, whilst with her left she raises her green mantle to wipe away a tear.

Between the cross of our Lord and the cross of the bad thief sits Saint Mary Magdalene. She laments with joined hands. Her right elbow is raised high. Her green dress has red sleeves, and is cut somewhat low in front. Around her waist is a long gold chain of oblong links which hangs down in front. Her beautiful

golden hair is all but hidden by a white head-dress which falls down on the right and helps to shew off her thin tapering fingers.

The foreground is rocky, and a few stones lie here and there; among them one human bone. The background is a soft turquoise-blue sky, such as one sees in the spring just as the glow of sunset is over and the night is stealing on. There are a few small clouds.

The horizon is bounded by distant hills, in front of which, in the central distance, is the Holy City of Jerusalem, which is treated like a medieval town.

The rest of the landscape is green well-wooded pasture, and the bare foreground of Calvary is shut in by tall grey and brown rocks on either side.

I have only to add that our Lord is looking towards the east, and not towards the west, as is the tradition of western Christendom.[a]

I have to thank our Fellow the Hon. Harold Dillon for the following very exact account of the armour worn by Sir Philip Hinckaert:—

"The knight is shown in an armoried tabard, displaying the arms of Hinckaert and Brabant, worn over a suit of plate armour, such as was in use about 1480. The body is protected by a hauberk or shirt of mail, reaching a little below mid-thigh, and ornamented by an edging of four rows of brass links. The collar of the hauberk, which shows above the tabard, is similarly enriched with a row of brass links. The arms are protected by avant-bras and coudières of plate, the rere-bras being covered by the wings of the tabard. The legs are covered by the cuissards, genouillières, and greaves. The feet are covered with broad but round-toed sollerets, flexible, by means of rivets, on the instep and at the tread of the foot. The soles of his arming shoes are visible, as are the cross bands of the sollerets passing beneath the foot. The spurs are moderately long-necked, with rowels of eight points, and are apparently fastened to the greaves. The sword, with a plain spherical pommel and straight cross-guard, both gilt, is supported by a narrow

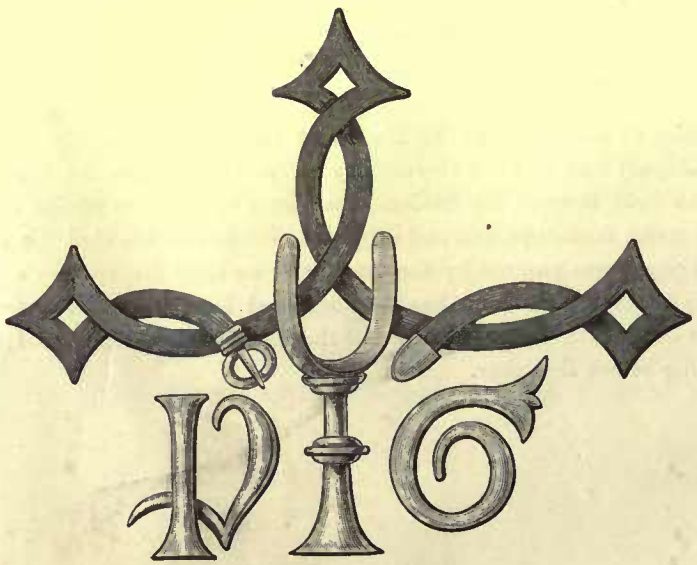
[a] In the exhibition of works by *The Old Masters* at the Royal Academy in 1886, in a picture (No. 210 in the catalogue) lent by Lord Heytesbury of *The Descent from the Cross*, attributed to the *Master of Cologne*, the dead body of the Saviour, the figure of St. John on the right, the Magdalene on the left, and the rocky landscape, one and all lead to the conclusion that the *sinister* panel of Mr. Walter Metcalfe's diptych was painted by the same hand as Lord Heytesbury's picture. The pose of the Magdalene is the same, St. John has the same red hair and red mantle and robe, and the figure of Our Lord's body, with the green crown of thorns, as well as the colouring, recall the one picture when standing before the other.

red belt crossing the body from the right hip and holding the hilt about five inches below the left hip.

The edges of the plate armour are in all cases inlaid with lines of gold.

The helmet is of the kind usually called an armet. It is, like the armour of the knight, of dark blue steel or iron, with the edges gilt, and has a plume of four red and four white feathers, with gold spangles along the quills. The plume starts from a point (not seen) on the left side of the helmet, near the nape of the neck. At the back of the helmet is a gilt disc on a stem projecting from the helmet. The use of this disc, which is also seen in the large picture by Uccello of the battle of St. Egidio (National Gallery) and in the suit of armour in the Ambras collection at Vienna as shewn by Schrenk van Notzing, and associated with archbishop Langius of Salzburg, is not known. The vizor of the helmet is attached by staples and a pin to two small pieces pivotting on the sides of the helmet, and has eight holes in its upper slope. A pin with a head, fixed in the lower slope of the vizor, works into a slot in the upper edge of the beaver, and was used for keeping the vizor closed down by means of a spring.

The beaver or portion covering the lower part of the face hinges on the left side of the head, and is retained in a close position by a strap and buckle, as may be seen in the tilting-helmet of the Warwick effigy. From the lower edge of the helmet depends a curtain of mail with two rows of gilt links as a border, and a fente or slit in front. This curtain, which would intercept a lance-head penetrating between the body armour of the helmet, is also seen in the Warwick effigy. The knight's gauntlets are on the ground beside him, and are of the class generally known as the *miton*. The cuffs are pointed, and the backs of the hands are protected by seven plates, the centre one only of which shews rivets."



BADGE OR REBUS OF PHILIP HINCKAERT.

VIII.—*The Manor of Aylesbury.* *By* John Parker, *F.S.A.*

Read December 10, 1885.

The town of Aylesbury is associated with the early history of this country. Green, in his volume on *The Making of England*, points to this as one of the four British towns to which a region was subject, that held out against the Saxon invader.

This tract of country Green describes thus, "It lay within a natural framework of river and woodland that marked it off from the rest of Britain."[a] And speaking of the town of Aylesbury itself, he says, "On the upper waters of the stream (the Thame) lay a town, which is represented by our Aylesbury, crowning with the church or *eglwys*, to which it possibly owed its English name, a low rise of oolite, that commanded the district from the base of the Chilterns as far as the town of Thame."[b]

Green gives another derivation of the name of this town, referring it to Ægil the sun-archer of Teutonic mythology; but a recent historian of Aylesbury[c] tells us that there are no less than "fifty-seven variations in the etymology of the name on record," and proceeds to verify his statement by supplying a list of these varieties.

Camden asserts, "as for its old British name, that through the injury of time is quite lost," and that the Saxons gave it the appellation which finally settled into the present name of Aylesbury.[d]

[a] *The Making of England*, by J. R. Green, p. 118. [b] *Ib.* p. 119.

[c] *A History of Aylesbury, with its Borough and Hundreds, and Hamlet of Walton*, by Robert Gibbs, 1885, p. 15.

[d] See *Britan.* vol. i. p. 311.

There can be no doubt that a town giving the name to a vale so famed for its tracts of corn-land and luxuriant pasturage must have been a coveted spot from the earliest times. Camden in his time says of this favoured valley, that "all round about are fed a vast number of well-fleeced sheep, to the great profit and advantage of their owners."

Kingsbury, or the king's borough, still designating part of the old town where formerly stood the manor-house, probably indicates a clearance made on an elevated position, a chosen site for the king's homestead, when it came into the possession of the Anglo-Saxon monarchs.

Browne Willis says, "The church of Ailesbury was one of the most ancient of all these parts and the parish thereto belonging of the greatest extent in the whole county. * * * Neither was the manour of the town less considerable, for at the time of the Norman survey Ailesbury lordship, which was then the demesne land of the Crown, was then rated at 56*l.*, which lordship the Conqueror (though he bestowed the church with appendants, viz. Bierton, &c., on the cathedral of Lincoln, to which it is at this day prebendal) still reserved to himself, as his immediate successors also did."[a]

The manor of Aylesbury is described in *Domesday Survey* as "Terra Regis." It was "rated at sixteen hides; having sixteen ploughs, two in the demesne, and twenty villeins with fourteen bordars having ten ploughs to which four more might have been added; two servants and two mills of 23*s.* value, pasture for eight plough teams, and to the value of 20*s.* more, altogether worth fifty-six pounds in money assayed; and for the markets 10*l.* by tale. In King Edward's time it paid 25*l.* by the tale."[b]

This manor continued part of the royal demesne till the time of King John, who in the beginning of his reign granted it to Geoffrey Fitz Piers to hold by military service as one knight's fee, and the payment of 60*l.* per annum.

I propose very briefly to trace down the successive lords of this manor till we come to times which connect it more or less directly with the reign of Henry VII., as it was in 1499, the fifteenth year of that reign, that the court-roll of the manor, which has recently been brought to light, was dated, a full copy of which is given in these pages with these introductory remarks.

After the death of the famous Geoffrey Fitz Piers, Lord Justiciary of Eng-

[a] *Notitia Parliamentaria*, published by R. Gosling, 1730.

[b] See *History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham*, by Dr. Lipscomb, 1847, vol. ii. p. 4. [Referring to *Lib. Censual.* vol. i. f. 143.]

land and Earl of Essex, his son John Fitz Piers, in 1227, became possessed of the manor. He was succeeded by his eldest son, known as John Fitz Geoffrey, conspicuous among the barons who rebelled against Henry III. We hear of him as Sheriff of Westmoreland and Constable of Windsor Castle. He died in 1275, seised of this manor, and was succeeded by his brother Richard Fitz John, who was summoned to Parliament as a baron in 1294, and died in 1297 possessed of great estates. His widow, Emma, held this manor in dower, and after her death it was held by Joane the wife of Theobald le Boteler, or Butler, the fourth Butler of Ireland, upon a partition of the inheritance, she being the fourth sister of Richard and one of his coheiresses. This Joane "brought" to her husband Theobald le Boteler "the manor of Faubridge, in Essex; the hamlet of Shippeley, in Hants; the manor of Shire, in Surrey; the hamlet called the Vacherie, and the manor of Aylesbury, in Bucks."[a]

The family of Boteler, or Butler, held the manor of Aylesbury from the time to which I have referred till the reign of Henry VIII., and throughout that lengthy period its successive members left a mark on the history of this country and Ireland. Often eminent in the service of their sovereign, sometimes in advance of their age, their exploits and careers have been deservedly preserved to us. An exhaustive account of this family, from its origin down to the seventeenth century, is given in the Introduction to *The Life of James Duke of Ormond*, by Thomas Carte.[b]

The writer of the Introduction says, "I find by a letter of John Walsh to the Duke of Ormond, dated July 11th, 1665, that Sir William Domville, Attorney-General of Ireland, was then drawing up an exact pedigree and account of the family, of which Mr. Walsh gives the following character: 'This,' says he, 'which the Attorney hath in hand, is like to be the noblest thing that any subject in the king's dominions hath or can have, beginning from beyond the time of the Conqueror's coming into England, not grounded upon hearsay or self-seeming knowledge, but upon records recorded, and other good evidences to be cited with the most memorable acts of all those that went before you.'"

Tracing on the different successors to this manor, we find that the second son of Joane le Boteler, Sir Edmund le Boteler, Knight and Earl of Carrick, succeeded to part of the lands of his mother, but it is not ascertained that he held the manor of Aylesbury. His eldest son was James Butler, second Earl of Carrick, and

[a] *MS. Annals in Trin. Coll. referred to in Collins's Peerage of England*, by Sir Egerton Bridges, 1842, vol. ix. p. 62.

[b] *The Life of James Duke of Ormond*, vol. i. 1851. Oxford University Press.

created Earl of Ormond by patent dated the 2nd November, 1328. "He is characterised by Clynn, the annalist, to be a liberal, amicable, facetious, and comely person."[a] He died on the 6th January, 1337, seised of Aylesbury Manor.[b] It should be recorded of him that he married Eleanor, second daughter of Humphrey Bohun, the fourth Earl of Hereford and Essex, High Constable of England, by Elizabeth his wife, seventh daughter of King Edward I.; on account of which marriage, with the king's consent, he was created, as before mentioned, Earl of Ormond.[c]

By this wife he had two sons and one daughter, the second son, James, lived to succeed his father as second Earl of Ormond. He was, we are told, usually called the noble Earl on account of his descent from the royal family, and by the Irish James the Chaste, an appellation procured by his modesty and virtue.[d] He was appointed Lord Justice of Ireland in 1359, and again in 1360, and in 1364 he was appointed Lord Deputy to the Duke of Clarence. His distinguished services against the rebellious Irish, in addition to his royal descent, procured for him grants of lands and other favours from Edward III. and Richard II. His eldest son, James, was the third Earl of Ormond; in 1386 he founded a friary of minorites at Aylesbury. He was made Lord Justice of Ireland in 1392 and in 1401, and again in 1404. Lodge says of him,[e] "Being a mighty strong man he is styled in some annals the head of the chivalry of Ireland, which kingdom he governed to the content of the king and his good subjects." He died in 1405, at the castle of Gowran, where he was buried.

It has been very generally believed that his effigy is in Aylesbury church, from the fact that the effigy now deposited in a recess in the north transept was some years back dug up from the grounds supposed to belong to the Grey Friars monastery, though at a considerable distance from the monastic buildings. The figure of a layman admitted, as was conjectured, into a church of this order led to the conclusion that it must represent the founder of this religious house. And so the fact has been assumed, and repeated in different works bearing on the history of Aylesbury and the pedigree of the Ormonds. The statue to which I refer is in alabaster, of elaborate and beautiful workmanship; it retains slight traces of

[a] *Collins's Peerage of England*, by Sir Egerton Bridges, 1812, vol. ix. p. 65.

[b] *Esc. 12 Edw. III. No. 43, Cal.* vol. ii. p. 857, quoted by Lipscomb, *History of the County of Buckingham*, in pedigree of Botelers, vol. ii. p. 7.

[c] *The Life of James Duke of Ormond*, 1851, vol. i.; *The Introduction*, p. 65.

[d] *Collins*, vol. ix. p. 65.

[e] Quoted *Ib.* vol. ix. p. 65.

armorial bearings on the surcoat, apparently a fess dancette between three leopards' faces, but a shield charged with three covered cups is the heraldic bearing of the Botelers, as evidenced as far back as A.D. 1285, from the slab of Sir John Boteler, in St. Bride's, Glamorganshire. The "wyne botelle" of the Botelers is referred to in a satirical song written about the year 1449, and preserved in the British Museum.[a] It is interesting to note, that in the town of Buckingham an ancient inn bears the sign of the "Three Cups," from which circumstance we may fairly conclude that traces of the influence of the Butlers in Buckinghamshire are still preserved to us.

The founder of the Grey Friars monastery left two sons, James and Sir Richard Butler; James, the eldest son, succeeded to his father's title as the fourth Earl of Ormond; he is commonly called "the white carl." He seems to have been a man of singular eminence for his times. It is said of him that he was master of a great share of learning, which was then very rare in noblemen. He is, too, spoken of as a lover of history and antiquities. Like his ancestors, he was conspicuous in the foremost part he took in quelling the ever-recurring rebellions in Ireland. During the reigns of Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI., in the account given of this family to which references have already been made, we find that this earl held high positions in Ireland, serving his sovereign either in the office of Lord Deputy or of Lord Lieutenant. He had a confirmation of King John's charter to Geoffrey Fitz Piers, Earl of Essex, of the manor of Aylesbury and a fair therein.[b]

By his first wife, Joane, daughter of Gerald the fifth Earl of Kildare, he had issue three sons, the eldest James, the second John, and the third son Thomas, successively Earls of Ormond. He died at Ardee in 1432, and was buried in St. Mary's abbey, near Dublin, and was succeeded by his eldest son James as fifth Earl of Ormond. This earl was knighted when very young by King Henry VI., with whom he was in great esteem. He was a strong partisan of the Lancastrian cause, for his fidelity to which he was created a peer of England in 1449 by the title of Earl of Wiltshire. His activity on the field of battle, and the energy he displayed during the wars of the Roses, are recorded of him in the annals of his house. His last engagement was at the battle of Towton Field, on the 29th of March, 1461, where he was taken prisoner, and on the following 1st of May

[a] *Cott. MS.* 11, 23.

[b] *Rot. Pal. 18 Hen. VI. p. 1, M. 14 Cal.* p. 281, quoted by Dr. Lipscomb, *History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham*, vol. ii. p. 7. Pedigree of Boteler.

he was beheaded at Newcastle, and attainted in the Parliament which met in November of the same year.[a]

James had no issue, and was succeeded by his brother John, the sixth Earl of Ormond and Baron Rochford, who was also attainted for his adherence to Henry VI., but was afterwards by Edward IV. restored in blood, and, it is said, to all his estates except the manor and hundred of Rochford, and other lands in Essex. It does not appear, however, that he regained the manor of Aylesbury, for we find that in 1474 Henry Bourchier, Earl of Essex, having married Isabel, sister of Richard Duke of York, and the King's aunt, had a grant of the manors of Aylesbury, *Boorton* (Broughton), and *Woddesdon*, of which in 1483 he died seised,[b] as did Isabel, his widow, on the 2nd of October in the next year.

It is related of the sixth Earl of Ormond, that Edward IV. said of him, "He was the goodliest knight he ever beheld, and the finest gentleman in Christendom, and if good breeding, nurture, and liberal qualities were lost in the world they might all be found in John Earl of Ormond." Frequently sent as ambassador to foreign courts, he acquired the knowledge of European languages, and is said to have been a remarkable linguist. His death occurred in the Holy Land, on the occasion of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in the year 1478, the seventeenth year of Edward IV.'s reign. He died unmarried, and was succeeded by his only brother, Sir Thomas Butler, the seventh Earl of Ormond; he was also attainted. Whether or not he took an active part in the cause of the House of Lancaster does not appear; but it was not till the reign of Henry VII. that he was restored in blood. It was in November, 1485, by Henry's first parliament, that his restoration took place; then the statutes made at Westminster, 1 Edward IV., which declared him and his brothers traitors, were "utterly abrogated," and once again the Ormonds were lords of Aylesbury.

This Sir Thomas Butler was the lord at the date of the Court Roll before referred to, and to which attention will be presently directed. We are told of him[c] that soon after his restoration he was sworn of the Privy Council of England; in 1491 he accompanied the King with a powerful army in aid of Maximilian the Emperor against the French; in 1492 he was appointed Chamberlain to the Queen; and in September of that year sent with Thomas Goldston, prior of Canterbury, ambassador to Charles VIII., King of France, to transact a treaty between the two crowns. On the 14th of October, 1495, he was summoned as a Baron to the English Parliament by the title of Thomas Ormond de

[a] *Collins*, vol. ix. p. 72.

[b] *Esc.* 1 Rich. III. No. 31.

[c] *Collins*, vol. ix. p. 73.

Rochford, and in 1497 sent ambassador to the Duke of Burgundy. Lodge informs us that he was a wealthy nobleman at his death, "leaving 40,000*l.* in money, besides jewels, and as much land in England as" (in Lodge's day) "would yield 30,000*l.* a year, so that he was said to be the richest subject of that time." He survived Henry VII., living on till the seventh year of Henry VIII.'s reign, his death occurring on the 8th of August, 1515. He was buried at the church of St. Thomas d'Acres, London, known as the Mercers' chapel, in Cheapside. Weever has preserved the Latin epitaph to his memory.

And here will appropriately terminate the more detailed account of the various Lords of the Manor of Aylesbury. Earl Thomas left no male issue; his vast estates in England, containing seventy-two manors, besides lands in Ireland, descended to his two daughters. His second daughter, Margaret, married Sir William Bullen, and by this marriage the manor of Aylesbury passed to the Bullens. Sir Thomas Bullen was the eldest son of Margaret and Sir William Bullen; he was created Baron and Viscount Rochford, and afterwards Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, and was father of the Lady Anne Bullen, the wife of Henry VIII. He sold the manor to Sir John Baldwyn, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, who made Aylesbury his residence, and of whom it is recorded, that he built or re-embellished its original market-house, or town-hall, and became a great benefactor to that town. The manor came into possession of the Pakingtons at the death of Sir John Baldwyn in 1545 by the marriage of his daughter and coheiress Katherine to Robert Pakington, mercer, of Cheapside, London, younger son of John Pakington, esquire, of Worcestershire. The eldest son of Robert Pakington, Sir Thomas Pakington, knight, became the head of the Worcestershire Pakingtons on the death of his uncle Sir John Pakington. From the death of Sir John Baldwyn till the year 1802 the Pakingtons held the manor and estate of Aylesbury, excepting during the period of the Commonwealth, for we find that in 1657 Thomas Scott the regicide was lord of the manor. The Pakingtons had a residence at Aylesbury till the death of Sir John Pakington, baronet, in 1680, and from that time the close connection of this family with the town was severed. Dame Dorothy, the widow of Sir Thomas Pakington, the second in succession to the manor and estate, was a woman who must have combined decided political predilections with strength of will. Previously to an election in 1512 appears among the parliamentary writs, formerly in the Rolls Chapel, and now in the Public Record Office, the following mandate, addressed to the people of Aylesbury:

"To all Christian people to whom this present writing shall come. I Dame Dorothy Pakington, Lord and Owner of the town of Aylesbury, send greeting; Know

ye that We the said Dame Dorothy Pakington have chosen, named, and appointed my trusty and well-beloved Thomas Lichfield and George Boredon, Esquires, to be my burgesses of the said town of Aylesbury; and whatever the said Thomas and George, burgesses, shall do in the service of the Queen's Highness in the present Parliament to be holden at Westminster the 3rd day of May next ensuing the date hereof I the same Dame Dorothy Pakington doe ratifie and approve to be my own act as fully and wholly as if I were or might be present there. In witness whereof to these presents I have set my seal this 4th day of May in the fourteenth year of our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God," &c.[a]

Sir John Pakington, the eighth baronet, conveyed the manor of Aylesbury in 1802 to George Marquis of Buckingham, Knight of the Garter. His son, Richard Marquis of Buckingham, created Duke of Buckingham and Chandos in 1822, and at the death of the latter his grandson Richard the second Duke, successively held this manor with the other ducal properties. At the dispersion of the second Duke's estates in 1848 Mr. Acton Tindal, the clerk of the peace for Bucks, and a nephew of the late Sir Nicholas Tindal, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, purchased the manor, from whose representatives, in the year 1884, the writer acquired it, with the manor of the rectory of Aylesbury.

A point of interest relating to these manors should not be omitted. The borough of Aylesbury was incorporated in 1553, and sent members to Parliament in the next year, chosen by the corporate body; but in the fourteenth year of Elizabeth, the lady of the manor, Dame Dorothy Pakington, as her mandate would imply, made the return of the members. In the twenty-eighth and in the thirty-ninth years of Elizabeth the return was still made by the owner of the manor. In the forty-third year of Elizabeth the corporate body again elected, and the bailiff made the return; this practice was continued until the third year of Charles I., when the inhabitants and burgesses elected the members.[b] Since that period the constables appointed at the Courts Leet for the manors of Aylesbury, and of the rectory of Aylesbury, have been the returning officers at the elections for the borough; and subsequently, when for parliamentary purposes the borough was extended, they have held the same office for the borough and hundreds of Aylesbury. The Redistribution Act, 1885, disfranchised the borough, and had therefore the effect of relieving the constables from their responsibilities.

[a] *English Baronetage*, vol. v. p. 384.

[b] *Heywood on Elections*, pp. 21 and 24, at which pages reference is made to Brown Willis's *Not. Parl.* vol. i. pp. 108, 129.

On the eve of their retirement, however, they were again, during the year 1885, called upon to discharge their duties for the last time, the occasion being the return of Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild to Parliament, on the elevation of his relative Sir Nathaniel de Rothschild to the House of Peers.

Among the muniments of the manor the earliest document preserved is the draught of a Court-roll of the fifteenth year of Henry VII., to which I have before referred; it is a subject for congratulation that this too has not shared the fate of the missing records of a town which should have revealed to us so much of archaeological interest, but which is so deficient in resources among its archives for the elucidation of its past history. This roll, it will be seen, is just such as might have been hoped for; it may be compared to a rift, and but a rift, in the cloud that hides from us to a great extent the life of the period, embracing the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century; at all events it vividly pictures to us scenes in a provincial town in times with which our acquaintance is but imperfect. The danger to the traveller on the public roads, the habits of the people, the free use of the dagger, familiarised as all classes must have been with the practice of arms at the close of the civil wars, the turbulence of the townsfolk, all are depicted to us with the unvarnished truth of a penman, whose only object was to give a faithful account of the misfortunes or malpractices of his contemporaries.

I would now call attention to some points of interest in the roll itself.

The importance of the Manor at the time the entries are made is evidenced by the value which is attached to the court-rolls themselves, and by the solicitude for their safety; not only were the titles to the properties of the townsfolk dependent on their preservation, but, being records of the litigation of the freeholders' courts, it was of great consequence that they should be open to inspection. So we find them kept in the vestry of the church of Aylesbury, and because they had not been securely guarded, and had therefore been "purloined," the jury present their grievance and desire that the rolls may be laid "in the place afore rehearsed," to be locked in a chest, the lord or his deputy to have one key, and the master of the fraternity of Our Lady to have the second key; then follow the cautious directions, borrowed from immemorial usage and practice, as to the fabrication of the lock and the key itself. Preceding the direction for the safety of the court-rolls, we shall note a ring of independence in the first presentment of the "twenty-two of Aylesbury and the twelve." The lord is distinctly reminded of the "customs, liberties, and franchises" to which he is bound to conform, inasmuch as they can be referred back to the days of his ancestors and of the preceding lords, and that he owes his title to "the Crown of England as ancient

demesne." This gives one of the many proofs that the spirit of freedom reigned in our English towns even in Tudor times.

"The twenty-two" further on assert their right "to annul all manner of penalties aforetime made not yet forfeited," and complain of the want of a hall to hold the lord's court, and of the absence of those requisites of a medieval community, a pillory and "cucking-stool to do correction."

I have been puzzled how to designate those described in the roll as "the twenty-two of Aylesbury and the twelve," to whose presentations I have referred. This manor is described as the Manor of Aylesbury-with-Bierton; Bierton being the name of a village adjoining the county town. Possibly this adjunct to the chief manor was at first possessed by John Fitz Piers, as he acquired lands in Bierton by a fine with John de Burton or Bierton.[a] In the Norman survey, however, the lands described included, besides Aylesbury and Walton, the parishes of Bierton with Broughton and Hulcot.

We find in this roll that there is a separate presentation by the tithing-man, the constable, and the tasters of ale in respect of "Bereton" or Bierton; it therefore has occurred to me that the "twenty-two" are the jury of the court leet for Aylesbury manor, and the "twelve" for Bierton. The jury at these courts leet were often more, but could never be less, than twelve.[b] Scriven says, "Although an honour should consist of several manors, yet for all the manors one court only is held, for so it was in the time of the Abbots, who kept but one court for several manors, but such one court is *quasi* several distinct courts."[c]

Again, the designation of "the twenty-two" and "the twelve" may have reference, and carry us back to the early custom of the vill or township, still undestroyed by the lords of the manor, of choosing out of the inhabitants those who should manage the commons, and undertake other duties which by custom devolved upon them for the benefit of the community.

The late Mr. Joshua Williams, in his lectures on "Rights of Common," gives an interesting account of the vill of Aston, in Oxfordshire, which retained its ancient customs until a recent period. This example may explain the question before us.[d] The customs of Aston and Coate, both in the parish of Bampton-in-the-Bush, Oxfordshire, are printed in the *Archaeologia*, vol. xxxv. p. 472.

[a] Lipscomb's *History of Buckinghamshire*, vol. ii. p. 5.

[b] Scroggs, 84, cites *Old Book of Entries*, 392, Kitch, 89, cites 6 Hen. IV., i., 45 Edw., III. 26 Br. Leet. 7, referred to in Scriven's *Treatise of the Law of Copyholds*, 6th edition, by Archibald Brown, p. 352.

[c] *Ib.* p. 4.

[d] Joshua Williams on *Rights of Common*, 1880, Lecture 7.

The directions of the jury, and the complaints of the jury and the constables, are extremely interesting; but, as they speak for themselves, it will be unnecessary to call attention to them at any length. The complaints of the constables, however, disclose the mode at the period of preserving the peace, to which some allusion should be made.

It will be seen that the defaulters in keeping the king's watch "at the time of watching" are presented. It would seem from the case of Reygg, one of these defaulters, that householders were bound to undertake this office, as it is complained that he, Reygg, "kept a house all the year (?) till the watchtime came." Edward Chalkyll "said he should not watch for no man." John Bossey was equally obdurate, and the three others "lacked each of them a night."

From the ordinances of Edward I. in 1285 we find that when the king took into his hands the franchise of the city of London, in the place of the mayor, a warden was to be appointed, and sheriffs and aldermen, "to preserve the peace by night and by day, and to cause the watchers and waits to be set." And in some instances, we are told, they were minstrels or musicians who paraded the streets and sounded the watch. And it would appear from these ordinances that the people of each ward of the city were responsible for the peace of that ward; thus, quoting from the ordinances themselves, "And if it so happens that any felon escapes into a church before he is taken, let the people of the ward where the church is situate unto which such felon has betaken himself keep watch upon that felon until such time as he shall have been made to quit the realm, in case the people of the ward suffice thereunto; and, if not, let them have aid of the nearest neighbours, and of the wards adjoining unto such ward, according to the ordinance and counsel of the warden of the city, care being taken that no person shall be with such watch unreasonably charged."[a]

The summoning special constables each year in towns for the purpose of keeping the peace, if need require, seems to be a practice handed down to us from medieval times, maintaining the wholesome rule, as it appears to have prevailed in the city of London, and within the manor of Aylesbury, that each inhabitant in his district must share in the responsibility of preserving the peace of his neighbourhood.

So deplorably have the early muniments of this manor been kept, that we have to pass from the roll we are considering to the reign of George II.

[a] "Liber Albus," *The White Book of the City of London*, translated by H. T. Riley, 1861, pp. 244, 245.

for the next manorial records, the date of the earliest roll of that reign being 4th February, 1730, when Sir Herbert Perrott Pakington, Baronet, was the lord.

It would have been well for the history of an important manor, and an ancient town, had the solicitude of the jury of Henry VII.'s time for the security of the court-rolls in the vestry of the parish church been better regarded.

Pedigree showing Descent of the MANOR OF AYLESBURY.

Geoffrey Fitz Piers, Lord Justiciary of England.

John Fitz-Geoffrey-Fitz-Piers.

John Fitz Geoffrey, died 1275.

Richard Fitz John—Manor held in dower by his widow, Emma—died 1297.

Joane, sister and coheiress of Richard Fitz John, held by inheritance on partition the Manor of Aylesbury. = Theobald Boteler.

Sir Edmund le Boteler, Knight, first Earl of Carrick.

James le Boteler, second Earl of Carrick, first Earl of Ormonde, died 6th January, 1337.

James le Boteler, second Earl of Ormonde.

James le Boteler, third Earl of Ormonde, died in 1405.

James, fourth Earl of Ormonde, died in 1432.

James le Boteler, fifth Earl of Ormonde, beheaded at Newcastle, 1st May, 1461.

Sir John Butler, Knt., attainted and died abroad in 1478.

Thomas Boteler, heir of his brothers, attainted but restored by Henry VII., summoned to Parliament as Lord Ormonde de Rochford; died 8th August, 1515.

Margaret, 2nd daughter and coheir, carried Aylesbury in marriage to her husband. = Sir William Bullen, Knight of Blickling, county Norfolk, son of Sir Geoffrey Bulleyn, Lord Mayor 37 Henry VI.

Sir Thomas Bullen, Knt., Lord Ormonde, Baron Rochford, Viscount Rochford, Earl of Ormonde and Wilts, sold the Manor of Aylesbury to Lord Chief Justice Baldwyn.

APPENDIX.

Memoranda of Proceedings of Courts-Leet and Views of Frank-Pledge of the Manor of Aylesbury in the county of Buckingham in the fifteenth year of King Henry the Seventh: with a Presentation of Customs of the same Manor.

[M. I.]

Jacobus Fleccher et Henricus Spede Tastatores serviciæ jurati præsentant quod

Communes Gannogiatores.

Communes braciatores serviciae et fregerunt assisam.

iiij^{d} Mabella Long
iij^{d} Isabella Gurney
iiij^{d} Isabella Graham
iiij^{d} Agnes Skylwelt
iiij^{d} Agnes Sharp
vj^{d} Margeria Gebond
iiij^{d} Johanna Estwayte
iiij^{d} Johanna Bassett
iij^{d} Grace Wells

ij^{d} Alicia Smewyn
ij^{d} Willelmus Laurence
ij^{d} Katerina Miller
ij^{d} Ricardus Jonys.
ij^{d} Isabella Bonyndon
ij^{d} Emma Wells
ij^{d} Agnes Wells
ij^{d} Thomas Hardyng
ij^{d} Elene Miller
ij^{d} Andrew Fisher
ij^{d} Johannes Gegge
ij^{d} Margeria Spycer
ij^{d} Willielmus Tudor
ij^{d} Thomas Barlowe

Gannogiatores.

Cecilia Devenshire

Candle

Courte

Isabella Litilpange

ij^{d} Edwardus Chalkhill

Johanna Wener ij^{d}	Hugo Wells ij^{d}
Robertus Miller ij^{d}	Thomas Mortemer ij^{d}
Philippus Hunt ij^{d}	Robertus Scolys ij^{d}
Ricardus Smyth ij^{d}	Johannes Bulmer ij^{d}
Margerie Waller ij^{d}	Willielmus Desynte ij^{d}
	Ricardus Bonyndon ij^{d}

[d]

Communes pistores panis

Johannes Elys	viij^{d}
Ricardus Bosse	viij^{d}
Willielmus Clerke	vj^{d}
Johannes Andrew	vj^{d}
Johannes Danngebild	iij^{d}
Willielmus Bonyndon	iiij^{d}
Robertus Pitte	ij^{d}
Johannes Ros de Greneend	iiij^{d}
Johannes Brayngdon	ij^{d}
Willielmus Gretham	ij^{d}

Affuratores. Edwardus Chalkhill
Henricus Spede
Hugo Wells

Affuratores. Edwardus Chalkhill
Hugo Wells
Henricus Spede

[M. 3.]

Juratores praesentant quod Ricardus Boose de Aylesbury praedicto Baker qui de domino tenuit molendinum suum ventriticum ibidem ex dimissione Thomae Comitis Ormond, domini praedicti manerii ad terminum annorum non dum completorum durante quo termino eidem Ricardus assumpsit super se facere omnimodas reparaciones ad dictum molendinum pertinentes ex suis propriis sumptibus et expensis. Et dicunt quod dictum molendinum erat et est ruinosum in defectu reparacionis videlicet in Ramyng super quo idem Ricardus tantum ex sua spontanea voluntate xx° die ante festum Natalis Domini [anno ultimo] praeterito praecepit quosdam servientes suos videlicet Edwardum Johnson et Rogerum War fodere lutum vocatum Rammyng cley in communi via vocata Bierton Wey infra jurisdictionem hujus manerii ex australi parte ejusdem vie propter reparationem ejusdem molendini. Et dicunt quod iidem servientes in fodiendo idem lutum post lutum asportatum ad dictum molendinum reparandum fecerunt quendam puteum continentem in longitudine x pedes in latitudine octo pedes et in profunditate octo pedes qui quidem puteus ex

habundancia aquae ibidem ex pluvia ibidem cadenti repletus erat. Et dicunt quod regia via ex parte boriali ejusdem putei continebat xxiiij pedes et ex parte orientali ejusdem putei tres pedes. Et quod idem Ricardus Bosse non habuit aliquam maliciam sive intentionem malivovalam praecogitatum versus aliquem in fodiendum puteum praedictum sed solummodo ad dictum molendinum reparandum pro eo quod ad tunc non sciebat aliquod lutum prope ibidem conveniens propter reparationem ejusdem molendini sed solummodo ibidem. Et dicunt quod quidam Johannes Walker de Aylysbury praedicto Glover veniens usque Aylisbury praedictum domorsum de Leyghton Busard a marcato ibidem videlicet die Martis proximo ante festum Natalis Domini ultimo praeterito post marcatum ibidem finitum videlicet inter horas sex et septem ejusdem diei post meridiem in praedictum puteum cecidit et ibidem submersus fuit sub forma sequenti ut eum invenerunt sed ignorant utrum submersus fuit equitando an sequendo equum suum quia dicunt quod tam idem Ricardus quam equus suus submersi fuerunt in eodem puteo. Et quod idem equus habuit quandam sarcinam vocatam Glovers panyars cum cirotecis in eisdem inclusis. Et postea proximo die sequenti videlicet in die festi Natalis Domini quidam inhabitantes ejusdem villae de Aylisbury ex relacione obitus ejusdem Johannis habita in eodem puteo existentis eundem Ricardum submersum invenerunt cum toga ejusdem Johannis a corpore suo separata emergentem et baculum ejusdem Ricardi in latere ejusdem putei jacentem Et sic dicunt ut credunt quod idem Johannes ex infortunio sibi accidenti submersus fuit in sequendo equum suum [qui] prius in puteum illum ceciderat et in restituendo equum suum praedictum cecidit in puteum illum et ibidem submersus fuit et non per aliquam maliciam per praedictum Ricardum seu per aliquem alium praecogitatam sive habitam.

[M. 4.]

Aylysbury. Curia de tribus in tres septimanas cum curia vocata Candlemas Court ibidem tenta vicesimo tertio die Februarii anno regni regis Henrici VII. quintodecimo.

Terrae tenentes Comitis Warwici ij[d] heredes Ricardi Lee ij[d] Willielmus Basset ij[d] heredes Johannis Grove ij[d] heredes de Perkyns ij[d] heredes de Kebylwhite ij[d] Johannes Latham ij[d] Thomas Vaux heredes Johannis perdonatur Prior perdonatur Ricardus Bosse heredes Ricardi Butler debent sectam curiae de tribus in tres septimanas et fecerunt defaltam. Ideo ipsi separatim in misericordia prout patet super eorum capita &c.

Johannes Dovall quaeritur versus Thomam Swayne alias Wa[l]terum Wever in placito debiti plegii de prosecutione Hugo More et Johannes Hunt.

Willielmus ij[d] Temple de Haddenham in misericordia quia non venit ad respondendum Ricardo Grenevile in placito debiti, &c.

Idem Willielmus ij[d] in misericordia quia non venit ad respondendum praedicto Ricardo in placito transgressionis &c.

Johannes ij[d] Davy in misericordia quia non venit ad respondendum Johanni Broun in placito debiti &c.

Respectuatur omnis materia usque eras &c.

Habet copiam. Ad hanc curiam venit Johannes Rasshe et cepit ex manibus domini xii acras terrae arrabilis jacentis in campis de Aylesbury in quodam stadio vocato The Kings Furlong nuper in tenuria Johannis Haryson dominus concedit inde seisinam tenendam sibi et suis de domino ad voluntatem secundum consuetudinem manerii Reddendo inde domino per annum viij^{s} sterlingorum ad duos anni terminos &c. et sectam curiae semel in anno videlicet &c. Et fecit domino fidelitatem &c. Et dat domino de fine &c.

[M. 4. dorso.]

The Curte holdyn at Aylesbury the iij^{de} day of Februar the yere of the Reign of Kynge Harry the viith the xv yere.

Memorandum. John Andrewe Baker & John Wylson at this Curte be agreed payd & contente.

Memorandum. Thomas Crofton & John Pontessey at this Curte be agreed payd & contente.

Memorandum. At this Curte Thomas Mortemer cam in this Curte with his iij hands & he the iiijth & wachygge his lawe for John Pymme in axyon of drapenynge.

Wylliam Tympylle cam in the Curte & answered to Richard Grenffylde in axyon of dette. Item y^{e} same William com in y^{e} Curte & answered to Richard Grenfylde in axyon of trespas.

John Davy com in y^{e} Curte & answered to John Brown in plee of dette.

Sutertes. The Erle of Warwicke$^{ij^{d}}$ ‖ The Eyres of Richard Lee$^{ij^{d}}$ ‖ John Latham.$^{ij^{d}}$

[M. 5.]

Johannes Davy in misericordia quia non venit ad respondendum Johanni Broun in placito debiti &c.

Memorandum that Mr Bayley hath content his oftes for all manner of costs unto this Courte and for this Courte &c.

Bakers for Candlemas Court:—

Johannes Elys	xiiij^{d}
Ricardus Bosse	xiiij^{d}
Willielmus Clerk	xiiij^{d}
Johannes Androw	viij^{d}
Willielmus Bonyndon	viij^{d}
Johannes Ros	vi^{d}

Thomas Skytwell Inholder Bakyng viij^{d}

Inholders.

Thomas Skytwell	xij^{d}
Edwardus Chalkhyll	vj^{d}
Willielmus Tudor	viij^{d}
Johannes Norres	vj^{d}
Ricardus Gebons	vj^{d}
Johannes Spycer	viij^{d} vj^{d}

Per Jacobum Fletcher et Johannem Gardener.

Aylesbury. Curia de tribus in tres septimanas ibidem tenta die lunae proximo ante festum Natalis domini anno regni regis Henrici vij quintodecimo.

[M. 6.]

Aylesbury. Visus franci cum curia ibidem tenta xv° die Octobris anno regni regis Henrici Septimi quintodecimo.

Decena ibidem videlicet Ricardus jur. Latham Thomas jur. Skytwell Edwardus jur. Chalkhill Willielmus Greteham jur. Johannes jur. Bulmer Robertus jur. Rvale Johannes jur. Cottes Andreas jur. Johnson Johannes jur. Dovall Thomas jur. Hempman Johannes Estwayte Willielmus Clerke Baker Ricardus Bosse Johannes Gregge Thomas Swayne Ricardus Gebons Ricardus Gurney Thomas Mortemer Ricardus Plummer Johannes Litelpage Ricardus Long Hugo Welles decena ibidem.

Jurati in decena	Willielmus Ward Willielmus Bulmer serviens J. Rosse	Jurati	Henricus Moyke Rogerus Tudor Edwardus John
non vult solere	Thomas Rogers Willielmus Gardener Ricardus Umberfeld		Ricardus Russell Willielmus Reynold Nicholaus Legyngham
Officer not chaunged			Robertus Forde nil Radulphus Roger Robertus Margery Edwardus Stevyn Hugo Ridgate Ricardus Nutte
Eleccio Constabulariorum	Robertus Bawme Johannes Rosse		Electi sunt in officium constabulariorum pro anno sequenti &c.
Affuratores	Johannes Elys Willielmus Greteham		Jurati.

[M. 6, DORSO.]

Bereton. Walterus Polle decenarius ibidem juratus praesentat quod dant de certo ad hunc diem iii^{s} iiij^{d}. Et quod Johannes Piers Willielmus essoniatus Smyth clericus Radulphus Verney Armiger Johannes Baldewyn Gentilman Johannes Soper debent sectam ad hunc diem et fecerunt defaltam Ideo [&c.]. Et quod est ibidem unus ovis capta de extrahura capta circa festum Natalis Domini etc. pretium.

Constabularius ibi. Ricardus Hawkyns constabularius ibidem juratus praesentat quod omnia [bene].

Tastatores servisiae ibidem. Henricus Edes Tastator servisiae ibidem juratus praesentat quod Johannes Rogeres est communis brasiator servisiae et fregit assisam inde. Ideo &c.

[M. 7.]

This ys the presentacion of the xxij of Aylesbury and the xij. The yere of the Reigne of Kyng Henry the VII. the xv yere.

Fyrst we present the lorde of the manor of Aylesbury with xxij^{s} with help of the lymmys and of other inhabetyngs that be no tenants with that that our seid lord be confirmabull to all manner of customs libertys and franchesses as we oft to have and have had withowte tyme of mynd as well by the dayse of the aunsetryse of oure seid lord as by enny other lordes afore tyme beyng after the custe[me of] the manor of Aylesbury the which manor ys holdyn of the Crown of Ynggulond as auncient demayne the wich custome of the manor ys as here after followyth.

First we present that all sych Evydens and Court rowlys beyng within the Chyrche of Aylesbury as well the Evydens of oure seyd lordes as of all the tenantes y^{t} they to be in differently in kepyng in the vestry of Aylesbury aforeseyd ther to be lokyn in a chest withyn lokys the lord or hys debytt to have oon key the masters of the ffraternyte of our lady to have the second key and every lok and every key with dyvers onyons so that they may nott be sayne but be all ther assentes indifferently as hath byn of olde tyme usyd with oute tyme of mynd so that our seid lord or hys tenants may have recotverse to the sayd rowlys at all tymys when nede shall requir wher y^{t} ys so we fynd us a grevyd that our lordes court rowlys and our Evydens be purloyned away otherwyse then thay were wont to be in tyme past where fore we desired [that] thay may be layd in ye place afore rehersyd.

Also we present that all londes and tenementes holdyn of the sayd manor within the manor and lordshypp afor[e said] as well charter held as copyhold to be ympletyd be writt off ryght clos after the custome [of the manor] aforesaid and all sych londes so impletyd to be tryed be the fre suters tenants of the seid manor as our old rowlys woll make mension.

Also we present the free suters that is to say the eyers of my lord of Warwycke the$^{iiij^{d}}$ abbot of Myssenden$^{iiij^{d}}$ Thomas Tesell Master Rafe$^{finis\ xij^{d}}$ Farney$^{iij^{d}}$ the yerys of Myles Thomas Hankyns.$^{iij^{d}}$

The hayers of Hertyshorn.$^{iij^{d}}$

Richard Lee of Quaringdon$^{xij^{d}}$
John Lee of Quaringdon
The Eyers of Smith of Hartewell
The Eyres of Anlows
Jo Funtyn of Wyng$^{ij^{d}}$
Sur Richard Gynnyn$^{ij^{d}}$
The hayers of Fox of Ayton$^{ij^{d}}$
John Lak of Wyllysthorn$^{ij^{d}}$
the hayers of Archys$^{ij^{d}}$ the hayers of Richard$^{finis\ xii^{d}}$
Nasch Sanders of Agmondescham$^{ij^{d}}$ Robert
Sayner of Agmondescham$^{ij^{d}}$ John Broun de$^{ij^{d}}$
Stoke Mandevile Walter Schapman of Wynslow.$^{ij^{d}}$

William Fryer de Wycomb$^{ij^{d}}$
John Goddale of Tetysworthe$^{ij^{d}}$
The Eyers of Runnowld Hycey[s]
John Bauldyn$^{ij^{d}}$
John Latham$^{ij^{d}}$

Essoniatus finis xii^{d}

The Vicar of Berton

Also we present lymmys that be not sworn Juratus est Robert Ford Juratus William Gardiner sarvant of Robert Glover . . . . Bulmer the son of John Bulmer, and Juratus William Ward sarvant of the same John Thomas Juratus Rogers suarvant of . . . . Barbur John Welys the son of Harry Welys ij^{d} Robert Smewyn Wyllyam Myllyr suarvant of Richardus . . . . . Baldyn sarvant of the same Richard Robert Dering respectuatur quousque sarvant of Robert Stokys ij^{d} Jamys Sterkey iiij^{d} sarvant [of] Richard Humbertfeld Juratus est sarvant of Thomas Mortymer Thomas Dacyn iiij^{d} Harry Meve . . . . Will iij^{d} . . . .

Also we xxij disanull all manner of paynys aforetyme made not yet forfetyd as our . . . . . byn of olde tyme past to make paynys and breke paynys Rogger servant of Thomas Johsun John Br . . . . . Edward Johns.

Also we complayn that we have no mete hall to hold in the lordes courtes nor no pilery nor no cokkyng [stool to] do no correccion wher for we pray that yt may be amended.

Also we woll that no man kepe no opyn bych but thay shall tay her up in the tyme that sche hys [open] upon the paynes of xii^{d} totiens quotiens that yt be takyn by the bayly or his debute.

Also we woll that no man shall put hys mers in the infyldes of Haydon upon the payne of every m[are of] iiij^{d} totiens quotiens that yt be taken by the bayly or hys debute.

Also we wold that no man shall put hys hogges in the fyldes but he ryng them by the fest of all [Saints] next cummyng upon the payn of every hogg so takyn in the fyldes on rynggyd by the fest afore seyd . . . and they shall not be on rynggyd till they be put before the herd.

Also we wold ordyn and present that all manner of persons having onny grondes joyning to enny rever within the lorship of Aylesbury that is to sey be twen the mede callyd dotmore at dunsam and Goldynham that they and everych off them drawe or skower or do make drawe and skower ayenst hys grondes as far as hys [land] extendet by the fest of the Holy Trenyte next cummyng upon the payn of vj^{d}.

Also we wyll that no manner of person from this tyme forth make no dammyng in the rever in no manner of plase within the lordship of Aylesbury upon the payn xij^{d}.

Also we wold and orden that no manner of persons botchers nor no other from thys tyme furth put no catell within the infeldes that ys to say betwen Howmannys Brygg and Spetyll Brygg in the tyme off . . . . Cummyng but after the Rate afore tyme rated up on the payn of every person doyng the contrary to forfet to the lord v^{s}.

Also we wold that no man no woman shall not wasch within xl fete above the brygg upon the pay of every person doing the contrary iiij^{d}.

Also wher Edmund Hornclyff Thomas Mortymer Rogger Cokks . . . . . Fleeher Robert Bayme John Plat and John Daynscher for leyeng ther dung in the kynges hy way [to the] nyans of the kynges lege pepull lyeng betwen the teniment of William Grove on on party and the teniment of the same party Edmund Bate John Stone We wold that they mend yt be the fest of Martilmas next cummyng upon the pay of every of them xij^{d}.

Also wher William Basset gevid hys hogges mete in the kynges hy way to the nyans of the

kynges lege pepull we will that he asayd the dung and the trow be the fest of Martylmas next cummyng upon the pay of xl^{d}.

Also we present the commyn myllers for exsis toll takyng John vj^{d} Latham Richard Bosse iiij^{d} John iiij^{d} Lambert Richard iiij^{d} Miller and Robert iiij^{d} . . . .

Also wher John Spycer John Elys Joh . . . . . malt myll ther dong in the . . . . . we woll that they . . . . .

[DORSO]

Also we desire th . . . . . John Pryer complaynet upon . . . . .

Sciant Pater Noster 9.

Memorandum that Henry Spede is common surety for Grey Ries her . . ij^{d}.

[M. 8.]

Thys is the presentation of ye constabull Robert Bame and John Roos.

First Jemes Fleccher mad a fray upon Edward Chalkyll with es fystes plukyng Edward downe be ye her of is hede and ye sayd Edward up on Jemes Fleccher with a short dagger and so drowe blod up on ech other. And as far as we can in quer they wer bothe in de fawt and so departyde a way home to is howse.

Also after that ther was on Nycholas Croke and the same Jeme Fleccher come home to hym a gen with ech of them a swerd in ther hond and Edward Chalkyll syttyng be is fyer and these ij men bade hym com howt agen and so they frayd a gen and drowe blod and as for as we can in quere ye sayd Nycholas Croke and Jeme Fleccher wer in defawt.

Also nother fray mad be John Hardyng up on Rychard Sadeller with ther fystes and all was for a sake of colys John Hardyng plokyd of a handfull of her of Rychard Sadeler hedd and as far as we can in quer they wer bothe in defawte.

Also William Teder mad a fray up on a frer and bete him with is dagger. We put owr discrecion to bayley for he had the matter in exsemycion.

Also Jeme Fleccher mad a fray up on Edward Chalkyll with a staffe and drew blod up on Edward Chalkyll and therein we have inqueryd & fond Jeme Fleccher in defawt.

Also thes be defawtys of the kyngges waytche in ye tyme of waychetyme first ther was on Reygg Keppytt a howse halle the yer tylle ye waytche tyme come. And wan he was sommȳd to ye waych than came Edward Chalkyll fasesyng & sayd a shold not waych for for no man and thus ber hym up and that cawsyd no oder be ye bolder for to barre ye kyngges waytch lyk wyse tenys pleyng with in howse in ye courte, lyk wyse bowlyng. He saythe & thretyn us with is mayster & thus we be over crakyd that we darre not go for wan they be mayten they be the bolder.

Also on Reyg Wych sayd he wold waych for no man.

Also John Bossey sayd the same wyse that he wold not waych for us.

Also her is John Reynold John Estway and on John Vernan weuer they lakyt eche of them a ny3t ther forre we myt them to the cort of merci up on a mersement.

Also Thomas Stanbyrge mad a fray up on Reygg Wollfe & flong a last at is hed and so raylyd with wordes owt of reson and we sett hym in ye stokkys & put hym swert & y^t^ is Andrew Fysher & Patryk Johnson for ye fray.

Also Edward Chalkyll mad a fray up on Robert Bame stondȳg cōstablł and smoth hym with hys fyst wp on ye cheke that he began to stagger redy for to fall. So leyyng . . wayt for hym for to pyke a quarell & therfor we fynde hym in a fawt.

Also I complayne up on Jeme Flecche for fraying of my wyfe abowt x of clok in ye nyȝth & y redy for to gotobed stondyng scoldyng at my dor byddyng me com owt of thy dorres & thou dare with is dagger in is hond redy to brek ye kynges peace for he semyd as a madd man he is comyng & therefore I be sech yow of pece of is godabery.

Memorandum. Respechiatur ad visum anno xvj°. Jacobus Flecche Tailor videlicet Thomas Barlowe & Thomas Harding de se bene gerendo usque proximum visum sub pena videlicet uterque [eorum ?] sub pena xx^s^. Et . . sub pena xl^s^. Quas quidem summas uterque plegius concessit. Et . . concess. si &c.

Edward Chalkhyll de se bene gerendo usque proximum visum videlicet Ricardus Jones et Johannes Estwayte uterque plegius sub pena xx^s^. Et . . sub pena xl^s^.

[M. 9.]

Robertus Stokys	viij^d^	Willielmus Tyddir	vj^d^
Robertus Bame	iiij^d^	Andreas Johnson	iiij^d^
Johannes Ravenyng	vj^d^	Thomas Johnson	ij^d^
Ricardus Gebons	iiij^d^	Willielmus Basset	iiij^d^
Thomas Mortymer	iiij^d^	Robertus Basset	ij^d^
Rogerus Cokkys	ij^d^	Willielmus Chalfhunt	iiij^d^
Johannes Reynold	noght.		

Also Richard viij^d^ Gebons sold a kowe y^t^ was corrupte.

Item Roger vj^d^ Cokkys sold an oxe y^t^ was corrupte.

[DORSO.]

Fyshe & Flesche affuratores.

[M. 10.]

The xii.

Juratus
Johannes Stone

Juratus
Edwardus Horneclyff

Juratus
Johannes Spycer

Juratus
Johannes Elys

Juratus
Willielmus Chalfhunt

Georgius Barton

defalta
Thomas Basset

Juratus
Thomas Love

Juratus
Ricardus Blakston

Juratus
Ricardus Dover

Juratus
Walterus Pole

Juratus
Willielmus Dursington

Juratus
Johannes Abbot

Memorandum that every man that hath a servant which hath bene her a xij moneth & a day that bring hym in to be sworne under payne of vj^{s} viij^{d}.

Item. Memorandum Ralf Verney Gutter & Tuder Gutter for to emende.

[DORSO.]

Robertus Baldin.
Thomas Cokkes.
Johannes Ballard.
Isabell Baker.

[M. 11.]

le Messor.

Johannes Denys Juratus praesentat quod Willielmus Tethyr posuit equos suos transire ad largum in campis de Heydon et aliis campis ante finem Autumpni contra formam ordinacionis inde factam per curiam videlicet cum duobus equis. Ideo incurrit penam de . . .

Item praesentat quod Thomas Hardyng pro consimili cum uno equo.

Item praesentat quod Ricardus Ballard pro consimili cum uno equo.

Item praesentat quod Roger Bocher pro consimili cum uno equo.

Item praesentat quod Ricardus Jones pro consimili cum uno equo.

Item praesentat quod Willielmus Basset est communis transgressor cum porcis suis in gravis tenencium videlicet cum viij porcis.

Item Willielmus Clerke pro consimili cum ij porcis.

Item Johannes Rosse Baker pro consimili cum iiij^{or} porcis.

Item Johannes Herdyng pro consimili cum tribus porcis.

Item Johanna Wever pro consimili cum uno porco.

Item praesentat quod Willielmus Hayll de parochia de Stone est communis oppressor tenencium domini cum bestiis suis vizt cum xxiiij^{or} bestiis. Ideo. xx^{d}

Item praesentat quod Ricardus Suthcot de Hertwell positis besstiis suis apud Heydon videlicet duas equas et quod praedictus Ricardus parcum domini fregit et intravit et duas equas ibidem imparcatas pro transgressione facta adhunc et ibidem inventas sine licencia domini vel officiarii sui cepit et abduxit &c. Ideo &c. vj^{s} viij^{d}

[DORSO.]

Veredictum Haywardi.
Hayward ville.

[M. 12.]

Praesentatio tastatorum servisiae villae de Aylesbury.

Communes Brasiatores.

Isabella Gretham	iiij^{d}
Ricardus Gurney	iiij^{d}
Johannes Estwayte	iiij^{d}
Agnes Sharpe	iiij^{d}
Margerie Gebons	ij^{d}
Gracia Wellys	ij^{d}
Johanna Basset	iiij^{d}
Isabella Christmas nothing.	
Agnes Abbot	ij^{d}
Agnes Watyr	iiij^{d}

Communes Gannogiatores.

Alicia Smewyn	ij^{d}
Uxor Willielmi Rowdon	ij^{d}
Katerina Myller	ij^{d}
Emma Wellys	ij^{d}
Agnes Wellys	ij^{d}
Johannes Gegge	ij^{d}
Thomas Barlowe	ij^{d}
Hugo Wellys	ij^{d}
Thomas Mortymer	ij^{d}
Robertus Stokys	ij^{d}
Johannes Bulmer	ij^{d}
Thomas Hardyng	ij^{d}
Johannes Lyttylpage	ij^{d}
Johannes Walker	ij^{d}
Ricardus Long	ij^{d}
Johanna Appleyerd	ij^{d}

Common Inholders & Bruers in ther Innys.

Agnes Kytwell	finis.
Edwardus Chalkhyll	finis.
Johannes Spycer	finis.

Comon Typlers in ther Innys.

Ricardus Jonys	ij^{d}
Willielmus Tyddyr	ij^{d}

[DORSO.]

Ale. Affuratores.

Tasters.

Curia de tribus.

IX.—*Some further Notice of the Diamond Signet of Henrietta Maria, queen of Charles I.; of the King's Diamond; and of the Sapphire Signet believed to be that of Mary Queen of William III.* *By* C. Drury E. Fortnum, *V.P.S.A.*

Read January 28, 1886.

On the 20th November, 1880, I had the honour of exhibiting to the Society at their meeting the diamond signet, engraved by order of King Charles I., with "o^{re} Armes" and with the "tres of the name of o^{r} deerest Consort the Queene on each side," and of reading some descriptive and other notes on this interesting historical relic.

In those notes I endeavoured, as much as possible, to record all the facts I was then able to gather touching the history of this costly gem—the record for the payment in 1628 (o.s.) of £267[a] to Francis Walwyn for his workmanship thereon, still existing in the Public Record Office. These notes were published in Archaeologia, Vol. XLVII. p. 393.

Through the kind communication of my friend Mr. Albert Hartshorne, one of our Fellows, I am now enabled to offer some additional and interesting facts in the signet's history.

"On casually looking over some letters from Douce to my grandfather," he writes, "my eye caught sight of the sketch of the diamond signet. I think the extracts I am now tempted to send you will, if they do no more, fill up a gap in its history."

Extract from a letter from Francis Douce to Thomas Kerrich :—

Charlotte Street, 16th June, 1817.

. . . . . "Your comparison to your father's seal prompts me to mention a seal of a different kind that has been the subject of much conversation

[a] Equal to nearly £1,100 of present value.

among some of the antiquaries and virtuosos, and still remains an unsolved enigma. It is a diamond signet ring said to have belonged to Mary Queen of Scots. It is to be sold by auction next week for whatever it will fetch, having been already more than once bought in. When I say a diamond signet I mean that it bears the arms of France and England in the 1 and 4 quarters, those of Scotland in the 2nd, and of Ireland in the 3rd, engraved on a table diamond."

From the same to the same (Extract).

"20th June, 1817.

"Curiosity led me yesterday of the M. Q. Scots diamond ring that I mentioned in my last. After a Christiean historical flourish from Rapin and Henault, it was knocked down to the happy purchaser for 86 guineas; the diamond being worth about 10 of them. In the mean time and before I wrote my last I had discovered that this signet was that of Queen Henrietta Maria. The letters which I then purposely gave you as M . R as they had been seen by the inspectors of the ring, stood actually thus M R.[a] The cross stroke for the H[b] is certainly not visible to common eyes unassisted by a glass, but it is as much there as my pen is now in my hand. I have a duplicate impression, which I would have inclosed in this letter but for the double postage. So much then for this seal. I must however tell you that on the impression I have of Lord Buchan's seal, and which he swears by all that is holy was that of Mary Q. of Scots, the cross stroke is not to be found. I find there is also another in the Signet Office at Edinburgh, of which the late Mr. Edwards's lady, who supposes herself a model of the Scottish Queen, has procured an impression and caused a seal to be cut from it, with which she seals

[a] By an unfortunate error at p. 395 of my former paper this monogram was wrongly printed M instead of M as it is seen on the diamond.

[b] This monogram occurs on a silver *jetton* in the possession of the President of our Society. On it two shields are represented conjunctly and beneath one royal crown; on the dexter are the Arms of England; on the sinister are those of France; beneath is the barred M crowned, on either side of which is a laurel spray. The surrounding legend reads HENR · MAR · BORBON · D. G. MAG · BRIT · FRAN · ET · HIB · REG.

On the reverse a flowering tree—a rose ?—is represented rising and spreading above cypress, cedar, laurel, and other trees; the sea, on which are ships, is seen in the distance. The motto surrounding SVPEREMINET · OMNES · explains this device.

This *jetton* is referred to by Mr. Syer Cuming as figured in Pinkerton's *Medallic History*, plate 15, and noted in my former paper at page 395.

her letters. What if these should turn out to be the signet of Mary the wife of William III.? for if they do not the difficulty about the arms remains. I will probe this matter to the bottom and examine, if there be any, the seals on the letters of the 3 maries."

These letters help materially to fill in the *hiatus* of the signet's history between the time of Astle's paper in 1792, where he states, "this seal is in the French king's collection at Paris," and the exhibition at Holyrood in 1843. By them we have direct evidence of the engraved diamond being sold by auction in June 1817, some twelve years previous to Earl David Buchan's death, who then, it would seem, was still in possession of a signet which he persisted in believing to be that of Queen Mary. Unfortunately, no mention is made of the form and ornamentation of the mounting of the diamond, more than Douce's statement, that it was "a diamond signet ring" in "gold setting;" and, what is still more to be regretted, the material of that other signet, then in Earl Buchan's possession, is not stated. In regard to the latter we have, however, the evidence of a letter from Monsignore Searle (communicated to me by Dr. Munk), that the signet formerly belonging to Cardinal Wiseman was a "ruby;" that it was given to the Cardinal by the Misses Nutt; and was that formerly in the possession of Earl Buchan.

Dr. Munk writes:—

"40, Finsbury Square, E.C.
"Dec. 6th, 1880.

"My dear Sir,

"My friend, Mons. Searle, for many years private secretary to the late Cardinal Wiseman, writes to me as follows:—

"'At as early a moment as possible I reply to your inquiries about the signet ring.

"'The one that was in Cardinal Wiseman's possession was given to his late eminence by the Misses Nutt,[a] and, thinking to make the present "nicer," they had the stone removed from its setting, and reset as a modern ring. This was the one in the collection of the late Earl of Buchan, and was a *ruby*, not a *diamond;* it is still in the possession of the Cardinal of Westminster.

"'In the summer of 1843 I was in Edinburgh, and saw, among the treasures of Holyrood, the "signet ring of Mary Queen of Scots, from the collection of the

[a] Purchased for them, as I have since learned, by a person named Harris, their brother's tutor. (C. D. E. F.)

late Earl of Buchan;" and facsimiles of the seal in glass were sold to the tourists at the palace. I bought one, and with the then purchase seal this letter, as well as enclose another impression. When in Cardinal Wiseman's collection it was shown to Mr. Turnbull of Edinburgh, who called attention to the cypher H.M. blended M and said it was the cypher of Henrietta Maria Queen of Charles I. *Some time* before Cardinal Wiseman's death Mr. E. Waterton, the ring collector, called on me and said he wished for my assistance to find out *who* had got the signet ring in question, he having ascertained from the dealers in antiques, &c. that it had passed into the hands of some Catholic ladies, and that there his information ceased. I answered him by going up stairs and bringing him down the relic; and by assuring him that it was not to be added to his collection. So much for the history of the ring, as known to myself."

"Mons. Searle adds, in a P.S. in reference it will be seen to the ring in your possession and the glass copies of it:

"'The exhibition of the original at Holy Rood in 1843 can be readily ascertained; my facsimile was bought there, and has never been out of my possession.'

"These particulars will doubtless interest you. They show that your signet was not in the Cardinal's possession; but that it was at Holy Rood in 1843, and that it, or its glass facsimile, was recognised years ago as pertaining to Henrietta Maria.

"Believe me,

"Yours very truly,

"W. Munk.

"Drury Fortnum, Esq., F.S.A.,
&c. &c."

It would thus appear that in 1817 there were two signets; one then in Lord Buchan's hands, and believed to be the "ruby" given subsequently to Cardinal Wiseman; and the diamond sold by auction under Mr. Douce's eye. That keen antiquary in his second letter says, he will "probe this matter to the bottom;" and Mr. Hartshorne, having in his possession much of Douce's correspondence with Mr. Kerrich, kindly took the trouble to look through it, but, unfortunately, found "no further mention of the seal."

The Douce papers at Oxford are chiefly historical MSS.; of his private correspondence there is none, and I am indebted to my friend Mr. Arthur Evans for looking them over and vainly searching for further information. It would appear, however, from Mr. Douce's will, "that his note books and other MS. collections, presumably containing his private letters, were left to the British

Museum, in a chest to be opened in the year 1900." In that chest, therefore, it is not unlikely that the result of his further research in the matter, if ever made, may be preserved.

The question immediately arises, what was the signet possessed by Lord Buchan, if it were not this diamond? and how came it that the glass copies sold at Holyrood, as made from that in the late earl's collection, correspond so accurately with the diamond signet which is the main subject of our inquiry?

It is a curious fact that, although the Earl of Buchan was the original founder and ardent supporter of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, a liberal donor of objects to their museum, and a constant contributor to their proceedings, no mention is to be found in the volumes of *Archæologia Scotica*, from its commencement to the notice of his death, of the signet in his possession which he believed to be that of Queen Mary, and which we are led to believe was exhibited at Holyrood in 1843, and which, it is said, subsequently passed into the hands of Cardinal Wiseman.

By the courteous permission of His Eminence Cardinal Manning, in whose keeping, at the archbishop's house at Westminster, the reputed ruby signet, presented by the Misses Nutt to the late Cardinal Wiseman, now remains, I have had an opportunity of carefully examining it, in company with Professor A. H. Church. There can be no doubt that it is a copy in red glass taken from Henrietta Maria's diamond. The intaglio is poor, and evidently moulded, the cross-bar of the **M** being but weakly indicated, though unquestionably there; in fact, it is a red replica of one of the Holyrood pastes, set in a heavy, plain, man's ring.

This examination removes one pretender to the royal line of those we thought might be original and rival signets. Our diamond and Miss Hartshorne's sapphire yet remain.

It seems to me probable that some of the glass copies of the diamond had been taken long before its sale by auction in 1817.[a] That of these earlier glass copies one, of red colour, had been imposed upon Lord Buchan, who believed that he had acquired Queen Mary's signet. If so, it may well have been that exhibited in 1843, after his death, and casts taken from it would yield glass copies equal in sharpness to those sold to visitors at Holyrood.

[a] Tassie, the well-known maker of glass pastes from the antique, &c. may have been the author of some of these. In 1783 he made a cameo portrait of the Earl of Buchan.

It is stated that one Bulters, an old engraver at Edinburgh, was the producer of some of the copies engraved on hard stones.

We may also presume that Douce, although possessing a (perhaps imperfect) impression, had not, at the time he wrote those letters, had an opportunity of examining Lord Buchan's seal-ring, or, if it were really that subsequently acquired by the Misses Nutt, so shrewd an observer could hardly have passed it as a real stone.

It is also possible that the hearsay evidence of the enamelled gold setting of the diamond having been made for the Duke of Brunswick is incorrect, and that it may have been sold in that setting in 1817, for Douce and the catalogue both state it was a diamond signet-ring, and of gold. This setting was evidently made to enhance its interest and value by bearing the initials and emblems of the Scottish queen.

To return to our history. Acting upon Douce's information as to date, on making inquiry of Messrs. Christie, Manson, and Woods, at whose house it seemed probable that the signet had been sold, with their courteous assistance, I have had the satisfaction of finding the sale Catalogue of the 19th June, 1817, in which the diamond is fully described, but wrongly attributed to Mary Queen of Scots.

The following is a copy of the Catalogue title and of the description of the lot :—

A Catalogue
Of the following valuable articles
vizt
The original diamond signet ring
of
Mary Queen of Scots
Engraved with the arms of England
Scotland and Ireland quartered
as also
A few Books and prints
of the late
Barrington Pope Blachford Esqre.
which will be sold by Auction
(by order of the Executors) by
Mr. Christie
at his great room Pall mall
on Thursday 19 June 1817
at three o'clock.

Lot 7. The original diamond ring of Mary Queen of Scots *upon which are engraved the arms of England Scotland and Ireland quartered*, and of which the following well-authenticated history

was communicated by that correct and learned antiquary the late Richard Gough Esqr. as cited in letter from — Brooke Esqr. to Miss Martha Browne which will be delivered to the purchaser.

"That it descended from Mary to her grandchild Charles I. who gave it on the scaffold to Arch Bishop Juxon for his son Charles II. who in his troubles pawned it in Holland for £300 where it was bought by Governor Yale and sold at his sale for £320 supposed for the Pretender. Afterwards it came into possession of the Earl of Ilay, Duke of Argyle & probably from him to Mr Blachford.

"This seal-ring appears to have furnished evidence that was fatal to Mary Queen of Scots."

[Bought by Dr. Curry, 90*l.* 6*s.*]

The signet was purchased by a Dr. Curry, probably James Curry, M.D., born at Antrim, 13th September, 1784. He was a licentiate of the College of Physicians of London and physician to Guy's Hospital. He died on 26th November, 1819.

It was probably sold again at Christie's after Dr. Curry's death, and then bought, as stated in my former paper, by one Van Prague.

I may here record two other seal-stones, or pastes, which have not been before referred to, having the royal arms between the letters M and R, with the cross-bar to the first letter.

A signet-ring set in gold, belonging to the Rev. W. Bentinck Hawkins. On this the cutting is flat, evidently copied, but differing in the form of the crown and otherwise from the diamond, apparently on hard stone (crystal or white topaz?). The M is barred. The form of the shield also differs from Mr. Franks', on which the cutting is more concave.

Another, seemingly engraved on a crystal (?) foiled to resemble sapphire, and adapted to a setting of the later years of the last century, was sold by auction at Messrs. Sotheby's, on 14th April, 1885 (Lot 101), for 5*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

The correct attribution of our diamond signet by Mr. Douce to Henrietta Maria,[a] and the suggestion, so long since as in 1817, that the signets on which the M occurs without the cross bar may have been those of Queen Mary II., the wife of William III., are remarkably corroborative of the conclusions to which I had come and which were expressed in my former paper.

It is further remarkable that he refers to another seal in the Signet Office at

[a] On a letter of instructions to Mr. Denham, 10th May, 1649, Henrietta Maria signs in a monogram formed of the letter M, with R on the last limb, and crossed by a bar to form the H. *Mus. Brit. Jure Emptionis* 19,399, fo. 72.

Edinburgh, which was copied by her wish for a certain vain lady, Mrs. Edwards, to use as a seal.

Of those signets on which the letter M is without the cross-bar, Miss Hartshorne's beautiful ring has every claim to originality as a royal signet, not of Mary Queen of Scots, nor of Henrietta Maria, but, probably, of Mary the Queen of William III.

Of massive fine gold, a half-round hoop, widening to the bezel, on which is a table sapphire of oval form and pale colour, slightly raised, and with facetted back; the shoulders are decorated with a rose of England on its leafy stem, worked in intaglio on the metal, and which has been filled in with enamel, now only showing traces, red on the flower, green on the leaves. The fashion and ornamentation of the ring would almost point to an earlier period than the style of the heraldry engraved would corroborate; there is no doubt however that it is the original setting. Incised on the sapphire is the royal shield between the letters M, (without the cross-bar,) and R, surmounted by the Queen's open crown.

Could this be the ring referred to by Douce in his letter as being then at the office of the Signet in Edinburgh?[a]

Gold signet ring of Mary, qneen of William III., in the possession of Miss Hartshorne (full size.)

It is a curious circumstance that almost at the very time when Mr. Hartshorne communicated Douce's letter to me, he purchased, by mere chance, at a jeweller's in Vigo Street, an elegant gold seal set with a red carnelian, engraved with the royal arms, the M and R; of careful workmanship and of the earlier years of this century.

It is no strain of probability to suggest that this seal may be the copy made by order of the vain Mrs. Edwards from an impression of that in the Signet Office. The cutting is concave, the tinctures indicated by incised lines, the only example

[a] Up to 1815 there was a Secretary of State for Scotland, who had possession of the Great Seal, &c. &c. When that office was abolished the clerks (who were lawyers) formed themselves into the "Signet." The Scotch regalia, hidden till 1818, was then placed in the regalia room.

I have seen, and suggesting carefully executed work to order, rather than one made for chance sale; the M is without the cross-bar.

Among these imitations or copies, perhaps the most manifest forgery that has come under my observation is one which was foisted upon its present owner, Sir Richard Wallace, under the veil of charity. It is a seal formed of carnelian, of elongated quadrilateral baluster shape; on the square face of one end, placed lozenge-wise, is the royal shield between the plain M and R, surmounted by the crown; at the other end, on a face of oval form, is the Thistle. Both are deeply incised in a manner clearly indicative of modern work, and the seal was evidently made to be that passed for the seal of the unfortunate Queen Mary.

King Charles' Diamond Signet.

On searching among the letters written by Charles, when Prince of Wales and when King, which are preserved in the British Museum among the Harleian, Lansdowne, Egerton, and other MSS., some of which are of comparatively recent acquisition, I have been fortunate enough to find a wax impression of the princes' diamond signet, which is preserved among the Queen's private collection of gems at Windsor Castle, and which was figured and described by me in Archaeologia, Vol. XLV., p. 26, and again referred to and figured in my former paper on the Henrietta Maria diamond. With it he sealed a letter addressed to his father, King James I., beginning "Dear dad and gossope,"—the wax impression on which is well preserved. There is no date to this letter.

Some of the letters from King Charles I. are sealed with a signet, which I think there is every reason to believe must have been that "diamond seal cut with great curiosity, and fix'd to the Gold Watch by a Gold Chain," referred to by Mr. Herbert as having been temporarily lost by the King at Windsor.[a]

One is a letter to the Earl of Newcastle, dated Oxford, 28 April, 1643. (Harley 6988, fo. 135.) This is sealed with red wax; the impression from a signet of lozenge form, bearing the royal shield between the initial letters C and R. The cutting is very similar in character to that on the queen's, Henrietta Maria, diamond, and is probably the workmanship of the same hand, that of Francis Walwyn, who is recorded as the artist employed by King Charles to cut the signet for his queen. In size it is about similar; the

Diamond signet of King Charles I. from an impression in the British Museum (full size).

[a] See my former paper, *Archaeologia*, XLVII. p. 407.

form of the shield is somewhat more square, having longer straight sides; the crown differs in form, the surmounting orb and cross being held by four supporting bands which spring from behind the fleurs-de-lis on the circlet or coronal.

This seal occurs again on Harley 6988, fo. 194, with the king's initials.

Again: two impressions on the outside of a letter addressed, "For Mr. Nicholas, one of the Clarkes of my Englishe Councell." (Egerton MS. 2546, fo. 31.)

Again, it is found on a letter from Carisbrook Castle to General Fairfax (Egerton 2618, fo. 21-22), dated 26 Nov. 1647; and on one of the next day's date from Carisbrook to Fairfax. (Egerton 2618, fo. 23-24.)

I have caused a cast to be taken from this, the king's seal, by Mr. Ready, that it may be compared with impressions from the queen's diamond.

Another extremely interesting fact was revealed by an examination of the numerous royal letters in the British Museum, viz. that the same signet was subsequently used, and is to be seen on several of the letters written by Charles II.[a] thereby, in part, corroborating the curious statement in Mr. Palmer's MS. Life of Dr. Baldwin Hamey (see the last page of my former paper), who had presented to Charles II. "on the restoration, a diamond ring on which were curiously cut the arms of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland; and which had cost the doctor 500*l*."

That part of Gough's statement that King Charles I., when on the scaffold, gave it (a diamond signet) to Bishop Juxon for his son Charles II. is corroborated by its impressions being found on the letters of both those sovereigns. In my former paper, at p. 396, I showed that Mr. Syer Cuming had alluded to an impossible myth, connecting it with Mary Queen of Scots; and in Mr. Gough's "well-authenticated history," as quoted in the sale catalogue description of the diamond sold at Christie's in 1817, it is referred to as the signet so given by King Charles I., whereas there can be no doubt that the king gave his own diamond signet, which we find used by him on his letters, and afterwards by Charles II., and was doubtless that temporarily lost by the former when at Windsor in 1648 (p. 407).

The following letters, written by Charles II. are sealed with this his father's signet:—

[a] Some of the letters published by the Marquis of Bristol in the *Camden Miscellany*, vol. v. 1864, are sealed with the same signet, an engraving of which, with fac-simile of the autograph, are given.

Lansdowne Royal, &c. Letters, 1236, fo. 114, written from Collen, Aug. 6, "to the Queen of Bohemia," "my dearest Aunt."

Do. do. 1236, fo. 116.—Letter from Bruges, 15 June, 1656.—"For my dear cousin, Prince Rupert."

Do. do. fo. 124.—Letter "For the Chancelour," describing his Queen on his wedding-day, 21 May, 1662.

Do. do. fo. 130.—To the same, 25 May.

Do. do. fo. 142.—To the Duke of York.

Do. do. fo. 158.—To Prince Rupert, 1673.

Do. do. fo. 199.—To Prince Rupert, 12 May.

Do. do. fo. 201.

Do. do. fo. 223.—26 August. to Prince Rupert.

Royal Letters, &c., 18738, fo. 37.—To his sister, 11 September.

Charles landed in England

The letter dated from Bruges of the 15th June, 1656, a few years before the restoration, written and addressed to Prince Rupert, "Deare Cousin," in Charles II.'s own handwriting, and being sealed on the same sheet of paper with this same signet, would show that if that was the stone given by Dr. Hamey, some error or omission must have occurred as to the date of its presentation to Charles II.; and, further, that the diamond then given is stated to have been in a *ring*, and not a *seal*, in which form it was set when in the possession of Charles I. Unfortunately, the initials are not mentioned.

From the time, 29th January, 1648-9, when the king (Charles I.) gave to his children, the Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester, "all his jewels save the George he wore,"[a] this precious seal would doubtless have been treasured by one or other member or friend of the family, to be restored to the elder son of the royal house at the time of his probable restoration.

Is it not possible, however, that before the restoration of Charles II. the king's diamond may have been deposited as security for some loan of money, which he so much needed immediately before his embarkation for England,[b] and that the loyal Dr. Hamey may have redeemed the pledge for 500*l.*, as stated, presenting it to his royal master on his restoration or accession?

[a] This George, worked in cameo on a superb onyx, is now in the possession of the Duke of Wellington.

[b] In the Edinburgh *Evening Courant* of 16th June, 1817, is a copy of a letter written by Charles II. from Brussels, 28th May, 1658, borrowing 50*l.*, sealed with an oval (? lozenge) about three-eighths of an inch long.

We may, from these impressions on the letters, conclude that King Charles I.'s diamond signet, used by him, was also subsequently in the possession of and used by Charles II. from 1656 to 1673 and onward; and that, therefore, the diamond engraved with the royal arms of England, which was in Tavernier's hands in Persia in 1664, could not have been the king's, but may, with greater probability, have been the queen's, Henrietta Maria, signet, as previously suggested. Although then living, that unhappy queen was reduced to great want, having first pledged some of her jewels, &c. and subsequently sold everything she possessed.[a]

[a] In the Memoire de Madame de Motteville (Camden Miscellany, vol. viii. p. 23), we read: "*Elle mit touttes ses pièreries en gage, et de cet argent,*" &c. and again, p. 27, "*Nous luy avons veu vendre touttes ses hardes l'une après l'autre, ces meubles et le reste de ses pièreries, et engager jusques aux moindres choses pour pouvoir subsister quelques jours de plus.*"

POSTSCRIPT.

15th June, 1886.

During a recent visit to Vienna I was enabled, by the kindness of Dr. Friedrich Kenner, the courteous and learned director of the Imperial Cabinet of Antiques at the Hofburg in that city, to examine more minutely and to enjoy more thoroughly many of the choicer objects preserved in that rich collection.

My attention was, naturally—from my interest in the subject—directed to any engraved diamonds that might be found among the many gems of the *renaissance* and more recent time; and I was rewarded in my search by finding two, one of which is of English historical interest.

The less important is a small, high table diamond, on the face of which a double-headed eagle, not crowned, is incised in a somewhat scratchy manner of shallow *intaglio*. It is set in a small gold ring, the bezel and shoulders of which are enriched with black enamel. It is probably of the early seventeenth century, and is numbered 134.

The other is a diamond of irregular quadrate form, facetted on the sides, but having a tabular face, on which a profile male head is deeply cut, but of indifferent execution; it shows that the material was too obdurate for the scalptor's power of manipulation; and, although the general form of the bust is fairly rendered, the features are but ill defined. The bust faces to the left, in the impression (which I send herewith), and is between letters difficult to define, but which may be intended for the Greek Π and Δ, and possibly the initials of the person's name who is represented in the *intaglio*.

It was on turning the ring that I discovered its chief interest; for at the back of the bezel, painted in enamel on the gold, on a ground of turquoise colour, the plume of three white ostrich feathers and the well-known motto of a Prince of Wales are represented between the initial letters C. and P.

The feathers are tied and shaded in dark blue; the motto ICH . DIEN is in gold letters, on a dark blue ribbon. The ring is small, a simple hoop enamelled dark blue upon the shoulders; the stone, held in silver casing, is backed by the enamelled gold bezel.

There can be no doubt that this ring belonged either to the unhappy Charles I. when Prince of Wales, or perhaps, but with less probability, to his son; the fashion of rings not varying sufficiently during the intervening period to mark with certainty the former or the later date. I should, however, be disposed to think that the *intaglio* on the diamond may be of earlier execution than its setting in a ring.

It has no history in the octavo Catalogue of Antiques, &c., in the Imperial Cabinet prepared by the late Baron von Sacken and the present able director, Dr. F. Kenner, in 1866, in which it is described merely as a diamond engraved with a head in *intaglio*. Its number is 141.

Whether the original owner was the luckless first Charles, as is more probable, or his son, or, indeed, both—for it may well have passed from the former to the latter in his youth—this ring is interesting as another relic of the royal Stuarts, and notice of it and of the other engraved diamond may form a not unworthy *addendum* to my last paper on the Henrietta Maria signet.

X.—*The Seal of Cardinal Andrea de Valle, A.D. 1517, with remarks on some other cardinals' seals of that period, ascribed to Lautizio of Perugia, and to Cellini.* *By* C. Drury E. Fortnum, *F.S.A.*

Read February 4, 1886.

The remarkable seal to which I have the pleasure of directing the attention of our Society this evening is one of several which were made for the use of certain art-loving cardinals during the earlier half of the sixteenth century, and which were the workmanship of at least two of the skilful goldsmiths of that prolific artistic period.

Of these, Benvenuto Cellini was one, although he confesses himself to be but the follower of a certain Maestro Lautizio, a native of Perugia, who specially gave himself to this branch of his art under high patronage at Rome. Cellini tells us that Lautizio had executed nearly all the cardinals' official seals previous to 1525, about which time, struck by the beauty of their workmanship, he made an effort to rival the Perugian, finding however great difficulty in a branch of art which differed so materially from that of the ordinary goldsmith. It was not till during Cellini's second sojourn at Rome, to which city he was journeying when Giulio de' Medici was elected Pope, in 1523, under the title of Clement VII., that he refers to the excellence of Lautizio's productions, of which the seal now under consideration may probably be one.

It is of gilded bronze, of pointed oval form (*mandorla*), $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length from point to point, and $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide; of solid metal, rather more than an eighth of an inch thick, having the subject of the seal in intaglio on the face; to the back is attached a handle of elegant design, formed as a central upright

SEAL OF
CARDINAL ANDREA DE VALLE,
1517.

SEAL OF
CARDINAL EGIDIO DA VITERBO,
1517.

foliated stem, surmounted by a globular fruit sustained by four petals; to this, on either side, and attached by a central band, is an acanthus foliated volute, recurved at the further end.

The *intaglio* subject on the face is of high artistic merit. (Plate XVII. fig. 1.)

Divided into two, we may almost say into three stages, we have, in the impression, a group in *rilievo* of eight persons occupying the foreground in front of an arcaded building of two domed wings and a centre, which retires behind the group in diminishing perspective. To the right of the beholder, the Holy Virgin is seated on a moulded base, having the Child in her lap sustained by her left hand; she is fully draped, a veil on the head falls behind her back and shoulder. Before her, St. Peter, a kneeling aged man, offers the keys, in his right hand, to the young child, who takes them with his left, raising the right in form of benediction. Two other elders stand behind him, one in the attitude of prayer, perhaps St. Andrew; of the other, St. Paul, only the head is seen, but the blade of the sword is apparent on his right; beyond him is a cross seen in perspective. At the back of the Virgin, a female holding a palm stoops forward, perhaps St. Catherine, or, may be, St^{a} Prisca; between her and the praying elder, in full face, is a mitred and bearded personage. On the other side is a beautiful erect figure of St. Sebastian, nude, with the exception of a drapery round the loins; his hands are tied behind, an arrow is at his feet; a figure evidently studied from the antique. Above the central building the Almighty Father floats in the air, seen in full face and seated posture, His feet sustained by cherubim, His head only is nimbed; He holds a crucified Christ, on whose head the dove of the Holy Spirit is descending from his mouth. The lower stage or division of the subject, separated from the group above by a straight dividing line, is occupied in the middle by a shield bearing the cardinal's arms; on a chief a demi-eagle displayed and crowned; on the field, semée with stars, two lions rampant combatant. The cardinal's hat surmounts, and on either side a flying boy angel supports the grounding of the group above; beneath are stars. The legend is on a band surrounding the upper divisions of the subject, and reads, beginning from the top—

* ANDREAS * TT * S · PRISCAE *
* PRES * CAR. * DE * VALLE *

Which reads in full—

Andreas Titulo Sanctæ Priscæ Presbyter Cardinalis de Valle.

Cardinal de Valle, a member of a Roman family of distinction, was one of the

fifth creation of cardinals by Pope Leo X. in the month of July, 1517. He was a member of the conclave by whom Hadrian VI. was elected to the papal throne in 1521; as also of that which elected Clement VII. in 1523.[a]

He died on the 4th August, 1533; and is buried in the church of Sa. Maria in Ara Cæli at Rome.

I would now propose to consider some bronze casts from other cardinalic seals of about the same period, which, as it appears to me, may be reasonably assigned to the same able artist, agreeing, as they do, in general plan and in the treatment of the figures and subjects represented thereon.

The first of these and the best known is one which was figured and described by me in the Catalogue of Bronzes of European origin in the South Kensington Museum (No. 7799-'63, page 67, and plate vii.).

It is of the same pointed oval (a form still showing the Gothic influence, which later in the century yielded to rounded lines) as that of the Cardinal de Valle. The subject of this, again divided into three stages, is a group of saints in front of an arcaded building. The Virgin kneels before the Child, which is supported on a pillow in the foreground. St. Lorenzo, with palm and gridiron, is the prominent central figure; on his right St. Paul, with open book; on his left St. Peter; behind them shepherds, some bringing offerings, others piping. Above, the Almighty with right hand in the act of benediction, the left holding the orb; from Him descends the dove of the Spirit. The Medici arms are on the shield below; the cardinal's hat sustained over it by a flying angel on either side. Round the edge is the inscription—

IV · T T · S · L · IN · DAM P B R
CAR DE MED · S · R · E · VICE-CAN
THVSCIÆ · BON Q E LEGAT.

[a] Ciaconius. Vita Pont. et Card. vol. iii. p. 350.
Andrea de Valle: a Roman, was Canon of S. Peters.
Regent of the Apostolic Chancery; Bishop of Miletus (in Calabria).
Cardinal under the title of Sa. Agnese in Agone and afterwards of Sa. Prisca.
Legate to the kingdom of Naples.
Arch-priest of Sa. Maria Maggiore in 1520.
Protector of the Brothers of the Minor Order.
A medal of the Cardinal is of the year of the Jubilee, 1525.

Reading—

IV*lius* TiTu*lo* S*ancti* L*aurentii* IN
DAM*aso* P*res*B*yte*R CAR*dinalis* DE
MED*icis* S*anctæ* R*omanæ* E*cclesiæ*
VICE-CAN*cellarius* THVSCIÆ
BON*oniæ* Q*u*E LEGAT*us*.

Giulio de' Medici was created cardinal under the first creation of Leo X. in October 1513.

He was one of the conclave which elected Hadrian VI. in 1521, and was himself elected pope 19th November, 1523.

He died in 1534 and his magnificent monument designed by Baccio Bandinelli, his statue, by Nanni di Baccio Bigio, is in the church of Sa: Maria sopra Minerva, at Rome.

This, then, is the earliest of this group of seals of which we have at present any knowledge, being made, doubtless, shortly after his creation, say, in the course of 1514, and we may be sure that its author would have exerted himself to produce a work worthy of the Medici, Pope, and Cardinal, the great patrons of art at that period in Rome.

It is interesting to learn that after Guilio's elevation to the Holy See this fine seal was made over to Hippolito de' Medici, whom he created cardinal at his sixth creation in 1529, for we find by an engraving published, as I believe, by the Marchese Tito Strozzi, in Florence, and taken from a cast which had come under his observation, the same seal, differing only in the surrounding inscription, which reads—

HIP · T T · S · LAV · IN DAM DIA · CAR
DE · MED · S · R · E · VICECAN · PERV .
VMBRO ZC LEGAT·

The bronze cast from this seal (a *surmoulage* of later date and wanting in some details) which I now exhibit, would seem to have been taken from a mould on which the first few letters had been wrongly stamped by the ignorant workman, the original having been obliterated. They are LMIMM instead of HIP · T · T · S · LAV·

Cardinal Hippolito de' Medici was one of the conclave that elected Paul III. Farnese in 1534, and died as it is believed by poison on the 9th of August, 1535.

He was buried in the church of S. Lorenzo in Damaso at Rome.

At the sale of some of those works of art collected by my esteemed friend the late Mr. Edward Cheney, a gilt bronze cast of the greatest beauty was sold, which there can be little doubt was taken directly from the carefully executed wax model made for this seal.

Cellini tells us in his *Trattato dell' Oreficiria* the *modus operandi* by which Lautizio worked these seals and on which, he states, that he (Cellini) improved in the composition of the moulds and other technical details. The subject to be represented in relief on the impression was carefully modelled in wax upon a piece of slate or other hard material, round it a ledge or wall was formed, of a proper composition, sufficiently high to contain the necessary amount of mixture of which the first mould was to be formed; this, when detached from the wax model, would of course have the subject in *intaglio*, and its accuracy and sharpness would depend upon the skill in the use of proper materials for forming and in the manipulation of the work. A first and carefully executed cast in and from this mould would be a reproduction of the original wax model. Such an one is the gilded bronze above referred to, and a proof of its being a first cast is shown by the absence of the gridiron at S. Lorenzo's side, and of the surrounding inscription. This probably was made to submit for the Cardinal's approval, previous to finishing the work in detail. The next operation would be to form another mould, in relief from the first, which, as we have seen, was in *cavo* and upon which the letters of the inscription had been since impressed with metal dies. Surrounding this mould in *rilievo* (representing in fact an impression of the seal) with a suitable wall and casing to hold and resist the melted metal, all being duly dried and skilfully prepared, thereinto the fused silver or bronze, as the case might be, was cautiously and dexterously poured. This cast, finished and tooled where necessary, and subsequently gilded was the seal such as we see in that made for the Cardinal de Valle.

Giulio de' Medici's seal was probably of silver, as were many others, and doubtless went eventually to the melting pot; that for Cardinal Andrea de Valle, though equally fine or even finer as a work of art, was fortunately cast in baser metal and here we have it now before us.

So masterly is the art shown upon the gilt bronze *prova* of Giulio's seal, referred to above, which was purchased by Mr. J. C. Robinson, that it was at once supposed by that able connoisseur to be the work of Benvenuto Cellini's own hand, an opinion in which I could not agree, believing that it, the De Valle seal, and two other plaques to which I shall presently refer, were of great affinity in style, in composition, and in detail, and that all four were probably of earlier date than Cellini's productions of a cognate kind. A glance at the historical dates at

once confirms my impression. Benvenuto Cellini was born at Florence in the year 1500. He went suddenly to Rome, for his first visit, in 1518-19 with Tasso, a wood carver, remaining there two years and working under Firenzuola and Arsagno.[a] Returned to Florence, he again started for Rome in 1523, the year of the election of Giulio de' Medici to the papal throne, and not till after 1523 did he wish to rival Lautizio, whom he, and he only, then refers to as the clever artist who had made nearly all the beautiful cardinal's seals, in which branch of art no one excelled him. Cellini further states that these seals were of oval form about the size of a child's hand at four years old, that Lautizio received 100 scudi in payment for each, and that he was still working at Rome in 1525.

We have seen that Giulio de' Medici was created cardinal in 1513; Cardinal de Valle in 1517, and the others, whose seals I have yet to refer to, in that same year. Not till seven or eight years afterwards did Cellini essay to rival Lautizio. Cellini proves, by his own evidence, that the works in question could not be by him; and, furthermore, it is by his evidence alone that we know the name of the admirable artist to whom we venture to ascribe them, agreeing so exactly as they do with the description Cellini gives of Lautizio's productions.

Another bronze bas-relief plaque preserved in the South Kensington museum is also described in my catalogue of bronzes in that collection, under No. 7800-'63, at page 68; and also figured on plate vii. It is the cast of a seal made for the Cardinal Guglielmo Raimondo de Vich, who was another of the many cardinals created by Leo X. in 1517, shortly after the alarm created by the discovery of a plot for his murder by poison.

This seal *plaque*, also of oval form with pointed ends, is about the same size as that of Giulio de' Medici, and the scheme of its subject and ornamentation is on the same general plan; without doubt it is the work of the same artist. A group of many figures occupies the centre; in the foreground, the Virgin seated to the left holds the Blessed Child upon her knee, to whom kneels one—the elder—of the Magi in the act of offering a vase, other two—also holding vases—approach from the right; Joseph leans on his staff behind the Virgin. All these personages are nimbed. The middle distance is occupied by the shepherds, who approach playing their pipes, and one points to the star seen in the sky above a building of temple form, which, with some foliage, fills in the extreme background, a picturesque composition in character like that of Antonio Rossellino's roundel at the Bargello in Florence, of *circa* 1470, the *terra cotta* study for which is in the writer's possession.

[a] Plon. Eugène Benvenuto Cellini, 4° Paris. 1883.

The inscription round the sides reads—

GVlIeL*mus* R*aymundus* TiTu*lo* S*ancti* MARCELLI S*anctæ* R*omanæ* E*cclesiæ* PReS*byter* CAR*dinalis* DE · VICH.

Beneath the stage supporting the groups of figures, two stooping men in armour, but bare-headed, uphold the shield of arms surmounted by the cardinal's hat.

Cardinal de Vich was a Spaniard, native of Valencia. He died 8th August, 1525, and is buried in the basilica of Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme at Rome.

Another bronze seal plaque of great beauty, which has only recently come under my notice, and which has not, I believe, been published hitherto, is preserved in the Bodleian library at Oxford, whence it will probably soon be transferred to the Ashmolean museum. (Plate XII. fig. 2.)

This seal was slightly larger even than that of Cardinal de Valle, and is a very beautiful work, as I believe, by the same able artist's hand. In treatment and subject it is much more simple and purely Umbrian. The centre is, in the background, filled by a domed arcaded building of octagonal structure; in fact, a sort of *baldacchino* surmounting a throne, on which, in front, the Blessed Virgin is seated holding the Child in her arms; to her right stands St. Augustine; to the left St. Nicholaus; the name of each inscribed beneath. All the heads are nimbed.

Beneath is the shield of arms: three Calvary crosses on three hillocks or monticles in base, surmounted by a cross and the cardinal's hat; there are no supporting figures on either side. The surrounding inscription on a band, between loop and button and pearl mouldings, reads—

EGIDIVS · CAR*dinalis* TiTu*lo* S*ancti* MATTHEI SANTE APOSTOLICE · SEDIS · DE LATER*an*E · LEGATVS.

Egidio of Viterbo was created cardinal by Leo X. in 1517 at the same consistory held in July, at which De Valle and De Vich were also raised to that dignity. He was principal of the order of Augustines, a trusted friend and councillor of Leo, and a writer of great elegance in Latin poetry. He was one of the conclave that elected Hadrian VI. to the papacy in 1521, and also of that which chose Clement VII. in 1523. He died in November, 1532, and was buried in the church of S. Agostino in Rome.

It may be worth our while, before considering what the world-famed Cellini did, or is known to have done, in the production of seals of this highly artistic character, to examine the four examples I have just described comparatively with

each other, and, by their own evidence of style, manner of composition, and treatment of the subject, to draw some probable inference as to their authorship.

First in date of production is that made for Guilio de' Medici doubtless soon after his creation in 1513, four years before any of the other three. In modelling this the artist would doubtless give his best care and strive to produce a work to the satisfaction of the favoured relative of the art-loving pope. The early cast from the wax model before referred to shows the very high artistic excellence of its unrecorded author; and yet, in merit as a composition, it is perhaps inferior to the De Valle seal. The same general scheme, the same manner of treatment, slightly modified, pervades the four, and the influence of the Umbrian school, rather than the Roman, is more or less manifest in all; more so, perhaps, in the Egidius and the De Valle than in the other two. In these last we see somewhat of the picturesque character of Ghiberti's work in *rilievo;* in both the shield of arms is made too prominent, particularly in that of the Medici, where the subject above is dwarfed in effect thereby, the more so from its numerous figures and pictorial back-ground. The De Vich seal, as far as we can judge by the bronze cast in the South Kensington museum, is inferior in workmanship to the Medici. The Oxford *plaque* is of great beauty, more simple in subject, almost more "Gothic" in character, but refined in detail and harmonious in composition; better suited for the use of the Augustine father than the more composite and elaborate designs for the service of more world-busy men. For general merit I should award the palm to the De Valle seal which is the prime subject of this paper. On it we have full dignity and importance given to the main subject of the composition; the shield of arms, the hat and their supporters, are properly subordinate, although sufficiently distinct; while the well-balanced background recedes with artistic, rather than picturesque, effect. The treatment of the figures and of the heads, in lower relief than on the Medici *plaque*, is equally excellent. I should take this to be the last and most matured work of the group.

I can see nothing of Cellini's manner in any one of these four seals, but in the absence of direct evidence of authorship, by signature or record, we may, I think—as Cellini tells us that nearly all the seals executed for the wealthy cardinals at that period were the work of Lautizio, and that they were of such beauty as to excite his emulation,—reasonably ascribe them to his—Lautizio's—masterly hand.

We know, however, from his own writings, that Cellini did so strive and after encountering considerable difficulties did make seals for several prelates in or about 1525; but, unfortunately, we only know two of those cardinals' seals made

by the great Florentine goldsmith, one in 1528 for the Cardinal of Mantua, who was created in 1527; the other in 1538-9 for Hippolito d' Este, who was created Cardinal of Ferrara in that year.

Photographs of seals impressed from these are given on Pl. X. in M. Plon's magnificent work on Cellini, before referred to. For the first that artist adopted the pointed oval form, the subject of the Assumption of the Virgin occupying the central and upper portion, the lower having the shield of arms and the hat; an inscription surrounds: HER · GONZAGA · S. MARIAE · NOVAE · DIAC · CAR · MANTVAN. In modelling the subject of this seal Cellini was evidently to a considerable degree guided by the style of those which we have been studying; there is, however, a marked difference in the treatment of the figures and in their grouping. In the centre the open sarcophagus is seen in perspective lengthwise, on either side are the apostles, two kneeling in the foreground, all in somewhat forced attitudes or expression; above rises the Virgin in seated posture with outstretched arms, supported by a too-obtrusive cherub with outspread wings; a boy angel floats in attitude of prayer towards the Virgin on either side.

Beneath the stage supporting this group, and which is itself sustained by a voluted bracket capital at either end, are the arms of the cardinal in a shield and the hat.

Although the general design may have been founded on some Florentine picture of the preceding century, there is an absence of that calm dignity which we have noted, and a forced action of the figures, which we do not see in those represented on the four earlier seals we have been studying.

The other and larger seal which we know to have been Cellini's work in 1538 or 1539 is an oval, rounded at the ends in lieu of pointed. On it we see two groups of numerous busy figures separated by a pilaster, from which springs a sort of double arch to the left, beneath this St. Ambrose is on a galloping horse with whip in hand, vigorously driving the crowd of Arians from before him; fallen figures are on the ground. On the right of the pilaster the corresponding arch is broken away above the springing, and from the fractured stones a group of children look down upon the scene; a crowd of figures fills the remaining space, that of St. John the Baptist standing on a rocky projection high above the rest; his right arm is upraised, the cross of reeds held by the left at his side; men, women, and children, some in rather strained attitudes, listen to the preacher. The central pilaster is sustained by a weakly-defined stage, beneath which is an oval shield of arms, its upper sides terminating in volutes turned inwards; the hat is above. On either side two angels are grouped, one holding a shield, the

other a cornucopia. The inscription,[a] HIPPOLYTVS · ESTEN · S · MARIAE · IN · AGVIRO · DIACONVS · CAR · FERRARIEN, surrounds.

Although there is much that is admirable in this work, there is a total absence of symmetry and of repose in the whole composition; the attitudes are forced, the action over vigorous, and the general picturesque treatment of the subject is not in accordance with the true principles of art in bas-relief.

M. Plon has given us a photograph taken from the wax impression attached to a document, but in the museum at Lyons a lead cast from the seal is preserved, and is described and a photograph published by M. J. B. Giraud, in the xlii. vol. of the *Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* (Paris, 1882).

These seals were of silver, and Cellini received for the execution of the last 300 scudi, for the former 214.

From the foregoing observations as to style of art, as seen on the four seals, and from comparison with that which we find on the two cardinalic seals known to be Cellini's work; and, furthermore, from the relative dates of their production, I think we may fairly conclude that the seals made for—

1. Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, circa 1513-14, and afterwards used by Cardinal Hippolito de' Medici, circa 1529-30;
2. Cardinal Gulielmus Raymundus de Vich, circa 1517-18;
3. Cardinal M. F. Egidius, circa 1517-18; and
4. Cardinal Andrea de Valle, circa 1517-18—

could not have been the workmanship of Benvenuto Cellini, but that, guided by the statements of that artist in his written works, and in the absence of more direct evidence, we may reasonably attribute them to Lautizio of Perugia, working at Rome.

Doubtless a search among accounts of payment and other documents in the possession of many of the Italian families might probably reveal some more positive and definite reference.

We may also, I think, admit that in this special branch of art Lautizio has proved himself, if these were his, superior in invention, in design, and in execution to the world-famed Cellini, by whom alone this humble but admirable artist in metal has been recorded.

I would also venture, before concluding, to direct attention to an oval bronze *plaquette*, the subject represented on which is that of the circumcision of Our Lord.

[a] It may be noted that the lettering on these two seals differs from each other, and from that on the four earlier seals we have described.

There is much in the conception and treatment of the busy group, in the character and pose of the figures, and in the architectural background that reminds one of Cellini's seal made for the Cardinal Hippolito d' Este. There is however no shield of arms, and a graceful floral wreath occupies the place of an inscription round the border.

It seems to me, however, not unlikely that this may have been intended for a cardinal's seal, its form and size being so like the Este's, and that in artistic character and merit there is considerable *rapprochement* thereunto although probably of somewhat earlier time.

XI.—*On the English medieval drinking bowls called Mazers.*

By W. H. St. John Hope, *M.A.*

Read January 21, 1886.

Of all the drinking vessels in use from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, none were so common and so much prized as those known to us as mazers. They occur in numerous wills and inventories under various names, such as *ciphi* or *cuppae de mazero* or *de murra*, *mazeri*, *ciphi murrei*, *mazerei*, *hanaps de maser*, and later as *murrae* and mazers, etc., on the derivations of which much valuable matter has been written.[a] But, under whatever name it appears, it is quite clear that the same vessel is meant, viz. a drinking bowl turned out of some kind of wood, but by preference of maple,[b] and especially the spotted or speckled variety which we call bird's-eye maple.

Although the term *mazer* is applied to a drinking bowl, it is from the material out of which it was formed, and not the use it was put to, that the name is derived. Professor Skeat says it is of Old Low-German origin, and merely an extended form of the Middle High-German *mase*, Old High-German *másá*, meaning "a spot,"—whence also our word "measles,"—a mazer is therefore so called from being a bowl of "spotted" wood.

The part of the maple usually preferred by the turner is the bole of the tree, or some part of the trunk where several branches meet; these portions yielding the beautiful speckled grain with which we are familiar.

The popularity of mazers during the medieval period is attested by a large number of wills and inventories, proving their use by all classes of persons, from the king downwards. The inventories of the religious houses bear witness to the same fact: thus at Canterbury in 1328 there were in the frater no less

[a] See *Promptorium Parvulorum* (Camden Soc. 1865) 328, note 2; *Archaeological Journal*, xvii. 259; and the York volume of the Archaeological Institute, Note upon the Mazer.

[b] *Acer campestre.*

than 182 mazers; at Battle in 1437 there were 32; Durham in 1446 possessed 49; and at Waltham and Westminster in 1540 we find 15 and 40 respectively.

It is unfortunate that, in spite of the number of mazers formerly existing in this country, so few should have survived to our time; but at present only about 50 examples are known, though diligent inquiry would doubtless bring to light a few more.

Despite their frequent mention in wills and inventories, the descriptions of mazers are usually so brief as to convey little or no information as to their general form and character. I have collected together as an Appendix to this paper a large number of items extending over a long period, which practically contain all the particulars we possess of medieval mazers beyond what the few existing examples furnish.

From these items we find that the characteristics of a mazer were five in number:

(1) The bowl.
(2) The band.
(3) The print.
(4) The foot.
(5) The cover.

The only essential part of a mazer being its bowl, it is clear that the vessel would be complete in itself if all or any of the last four features were omitted.

It is probable that to this fact we owe the scanty notices of the documents; for the cheaper form of mazer, or that in use amongst the poorer classes, would usually be but a plain bowl, while the wealthier folk ornamented their mazers with silver-gilt mounts and enamelled medallions, and occasionally with splendid feet and covers.

The bowl of a mazer is invariably plain, the beautiful grain of the maplewood being evidently considered ornamental enough in itself. Two examples in the Appendix are described as *fretté d'or*, but this probably refers to a gold network connecting the band and foot, in the same way as the straps of silver or silver-gilt found on Elizabethan mazers.

Where the mazer consists of a simple bowl only, the brittle nature of the wood is counteracted by an increase in the thickness; but in the case of a bowl mounted with metal the additional strength thereby gained allows the wood to be turned comparatively thin.

This metal mount, or *band*, as it is termed, is usually of silver or silver-gilt, and occasionally of gold. But two existing examples have gilt base-metal bands.

Until the middle of the fifteenth century the band appears to have been of a simple character, and of no great depth. Later on it developed into a deeper and very characteristic form, which is quite plain within, but has its outer face ornamented with various moldings and stamped patterns.

It is probable that these deep bands were introduced with the object of increasing the capacity of the mazer, for from the comparatively small size of the part of the maple-tree fit for the purpose the majority of the bowls produced in the lathe must have been very shallow, and by adding these broad bands the depth of the mazer was more than doubled.

At a still later period the singular tendency of medieval types to revert to earlier forms begins to assert itself in the case of mazers, and the band again becomes simpler in treatment and more vertical.

It appears from references in wills and inventories that mazers sometimes had double bands, but no examples have survived to our day.

As might be expected, the band was frequently utilized for inscriptions. The great mazer preserved in York Minster has an English legend, as also has that belonging to Mr. Whitehead. Other examples, Latin and English, will be found in the list of mazers in the Appendix, as well as on several existing examples.

It is hardly necessary to point out the value of the lettering in helping to fix the date of a mazer in the absence of hall-marks.

In the bottom of almost every mazer is to be found a circular medallion, known in fourteenth and early fifteenth century inventories as a *founce* or *frounce*, a word of obscure origin, but probably connected with the Latin *fundus*. This name occurs till about 1450, when the medallion is termed the *print*, sometimes the *boss*, names which continue in use till the Reformation.

What this print originated in it is difficult to say. It was a frequent ornament of metal bowls and dishes all through the medieval period, but it is not a structural necessity; neither can it have been added merely as an ornament. Perhaps it was inserted in mazers to conceal the marks of the lathe, before the mechanism of that machine had improved so as to allow of a bowl being turned in a chuck as now. But it may have had a much older origin, and, as our Fellow Mr. C. D. E. Fortnum suggests, was derived from the umbilical boss found in Greek paterae and early Egyptian bowls, and subsequently in fifteenth century Arabic bowls, hollowed out underneath to receive the finger when drinking.

Of the general design of the prints from time to time nothing can be learned from the documents, the only information they afford being the nature of the device. The very few undoubtedly early existing examples have a flat circular

plate of silver-gilt *repoussé* work, but it cannot be argued from these two or three instances that all the early prints were of a similar nature. Several of the Canterbury mazers in 1328 are described as having round plates in the bottom, but the greater number are given as simply *cum castone*. Dart invariably prints the noun *castore*, but, as Mr. Franks suggests, the word is clearly from the low-Latin *chasto* or *casto*—meaning a collet or socket, old French *chaston*, modern French *chaton*. The application of the word to the print of a mazer occurs only in the Canterbury list. The early date and fulness of this list render it an important guide as to the nature of medieval mazers; it is therefore given *in extenso* in the Appendix from a new transcript of the original manuscript. What these *castones* held the list does not say, but sometimes they must have contained a jewel or jewels, for several mazers are described as *cum gemma in fundo*.

In the fifteenth century, so far as the existing mazers may be taken as evidence, the print is bossed out and molded to form a socket for a silver plate, engraved with some quaint or sacred device and enamelled. This molded socket in late examples is set on a rayed and fringed plate.

The devices of the print vary considerably.

Figures of saints are found at all dates. Other sacred subjects were also popular, such as the Trinity, the Majesty, Our Lady, the Salutation, and the Vernicle. The monogram ihs or ihc was very common, and is found on several existing mazers. Enamelled shields, heraldic animals and badges occur both in inventories and actual mazers; the latter too furnish several examples of merchants' marks, as well as monograms and enamelled flowers. The Canterbury list of 1328 enumerates, *inter alia*, the Blessed Virgin Mary, a lion, a king and falcon, a shield and lion, a rose, a head, a star, a boar, a vine and winepress, also jewels and gilt plates.

Throughout the whole of the period when mazers were fashionable it was often customary to mount them on a foot. When this was of some length, mazers so adorned were known as "standing mazers." Several are given in the Canterbury list *cum pede deaurato tornatili*, and one in the royal treasury in 1337-8 is described as *cum tripode loco pedis*. Numerous instances occur in inventories of mazers with feet standing on three lions, and among the plate formerly belonging to Henry V. was *I. Maser esteant sur IIII. Angelx.*[a] This foot was also sometimes moveable; thus, in the will of Walter Skirlaw, bishop of Durham (1388-1405), occurs—"unus ciphus masar stans super pedem argenti deaurati *mobilem* portatum super tres leones."

[a] *Rolls of the Parliament*, iv. 224.

And we learn from the "Rites of Durham," that the foot of a famous mazer in the frater at Durham, known as St. Bede's bowl, was "of silver and double gilt, with four joynts of silver coming down, all double gilt from the edge to the foot, to be taken asunder."[a]

Very many mazers originally had covers, mostly of maple-wood, with silver-gilt or metal rims and knops, and sometimes painted and adorned with precious stones. Only three examples have survived to our day; but numerous examples will be found quoted in the Appendix.

The medieval fashion of giving names to favourite drinking cups and other articles of use was at an early date extended to mazers. Thus, at Canterbury in 1328, we find mazers known as "Bygge," "Salamon," "Broke," "Austyn," "Pylegrym," "Hare," &c. &c.; and at Battle Abbey, in 1437, a mazer called "fenix." Others at Durham are quoted below, and further examples will be found in the Appendix.

Mention is made at the beginning of this paper of mazers being drinking vessels. Why shallow bowls were preferred to the more convenient cups we cannot say, but that they were used to drink from is not only abundantly proved by contemporary writings, but the mazers themselves attest the fact.

Thus, a mazer belonging to Mr. S. E. Shirley has inscribed on the band:

En the name of the tirnite
fille the kup and drinke to me.

Again, the great York bowl bears grants from two bishops of forty days' pardon

on to all tho that drinkis of this cope.

And the so-called "Mary Valence" cup at Pembroke College, Cambridge, is inscribed:

✠ : ſayn : denel : yᵗ : el : me : dere :
for = her = lof - drenk and mak : gud : cher.

Several other existing mazers bear similar evidence.

One of the best written authorities is the valuable work known as *The Rites of Durham*,[b] which gives us full information as to the use of mazers, with other interesting particulars:

[a] *Rites of Durham.* Surtees Society, xv. 68.

[b] Surtees Society, xv. 68, 69.

"Within the said Frater-house door, there is a strong AMBRIE in the stone wall, where a great mazer, called the GRACE-CUP, did stand, which did service to the monks every day, after grace was said, to drink in round the table. Which cup was largely and finely edged about with silver and double gilt with gold, and many more large and great mazers after the same sort. Amongst which was a goodly great mazer called JUDAS-CUP, edged about with silver and double gilt, with a foot underneath it to stand on, of silver and double gilt, which was never used but on Maundy Thursday at night in the Frater-house, where the Prior and the whole Convent did meet and keep their Maundy. There lay also in the same ambrie the goodly cup called SAINT BEDE'S BOWL, the outside whereof was of black mazer, and the inside of silver double gilt, the edge finely wrought about with silver and double gilt; and in the midst of it was the picture of the holy man Saint BEDE, sitting as if he had been writing. The foot of the said bowl was of silver and double gilt, with four joynts of silver coming down, all double gilt from the edge to the foot, to be taken asunder.[a] . . . . . .

"And every monk had his mazer severally by himself to drink in, ... and all the said mazers were largely and finely edged with silver double gilt."

It is interesting to know that one of the mazers in the collection of Mr. A. W. Franks was formerly used in their frater-house by the monks of Rochester, part of the legend on the band being—

+ ꝺIPHVS REFECꝺTORII ROFENSIS.

There is one more point in connection with mazers that should be mentioned, and that is their occasional possession by parishes, where they are reckoned amongst the church plate.

Thus the inventory of St. Margaret Pattens, London, 1479—1486, states—

"It' we have all so ij masers on by þ^{e} gyfte of my lady adyrley and anoþ^{r} by þ^{e} gyfte off Wyllyam þorneton hyr s'vand,"

and the inventory of 1511 describes them at length:

"Itm. twoo Masoures w^{t} bondes of sylver and gylte w^{t} booses in the myddes of theym one of theym of the gifte of Maistres Thornton with Iħuc in the same Boose and in the bonde of the same wretyn Domine salvū me fac. weying ix unces ꝺi q^{a}rt^{r}.

"And the other Masoure is w^{t} a Boose gylted in y^{t} w^{t}oute amell' and on the bonde on the oute syde of the same wretyn Of goddes hande blissed he be That

[a] This was of course a standing mazer.

taketh this Cuppe and drynketh to me. And on the Inne side of the same bonde[a] is wretyn God that suteth in Trynyte. sende us peax̄e and unyte. Weying xij unc' j q^{a}rt' di. bothe together poiz xxj oñz q^{a}r."

Again, in 1524, the chantry of SS. Nicholas and Katherine at Crich, Derbyshire, possessed—

"oone olde maser w^{t} ye Armes of ye founder,"

and in 1551, at Hornchurch, Essex, the parish had—

"a maser w^{t} a narrow bonde of sylver."

These parish mazers were probably used at church ales and procession times, for in 1549, at St. Saviour's, Southwark, was—

"a maser with a bordour and knop of sylver and gilt which was geven to the churche wardens to drink when they mete,"[b]

and no less than eight mazers are still preserved in churches.

Of undoubted mazers that have survived to our time, besides some bowls of later date which seem to carry on the tradition, there are about fifty examples known. These may be roughly divided as follows :—

Group I. Mazers probably of fourteenth and early fifteenth century date.
Bowls generally deep, with plain and narrow bands. Prints various.

Group II. Mazers from *circa* 1450 to *circa* 1540.
Shallow bowls with characteristic bands and prints.
The prints are divisible into—(A) plainly molded; (B) those set on a rayed and fringed plate.

Group III. Elizabethan mazers.
Bowls, bands, and prints much the same as in Group II., but with metal straps connecting the band and foot.

There is also a number of later bowls, miscellaneous in character, often with a turned wooden foot, and tall cover. These, however, cannot strictly be termed mazers—many of them not being of maple, or ornamented with bands and prints. It is therefore unnecessary to say any more about them here. Several of them are described in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries.*[c]

About one-fourth of the existing mazers belong to Group I.; and with the exception of a single example of the year 1507–8 they are all of the fourteenth

[a] This entry contains the only known instance of a mazer band inscribed inside.

[b] *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, iv. 84. This mazer was sold the following year for 3*l.*

[c] 2nd Series, vol. vii. p. 77, and vol. xi. p. 54, *et seq.*

and early fifteenth century date. Several of them are of large size, but the bands are quite narrow, ranging from $\frac{1}{4}$ inch to $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch. The earliest have flat plates or medallions for prints. Nearly all have a foot, but with one, or possibly two, exceptions this is in every case an addition of later date.

To group II. belong at least twenty-six mazers. They are characterised by a particular form of band which first appears, though of unusual depth, on the fine standing mazer at Pembroke College, Cambridge. (See figs. 16, 17, and 20.) Nearly all the mazers of this group have the upper and lower belt of moldings on the band set with minute four-leaved flowers, but in the later examples the belts are quite plain or reeded. (See fig. 18.) The average depth of the band is $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch.

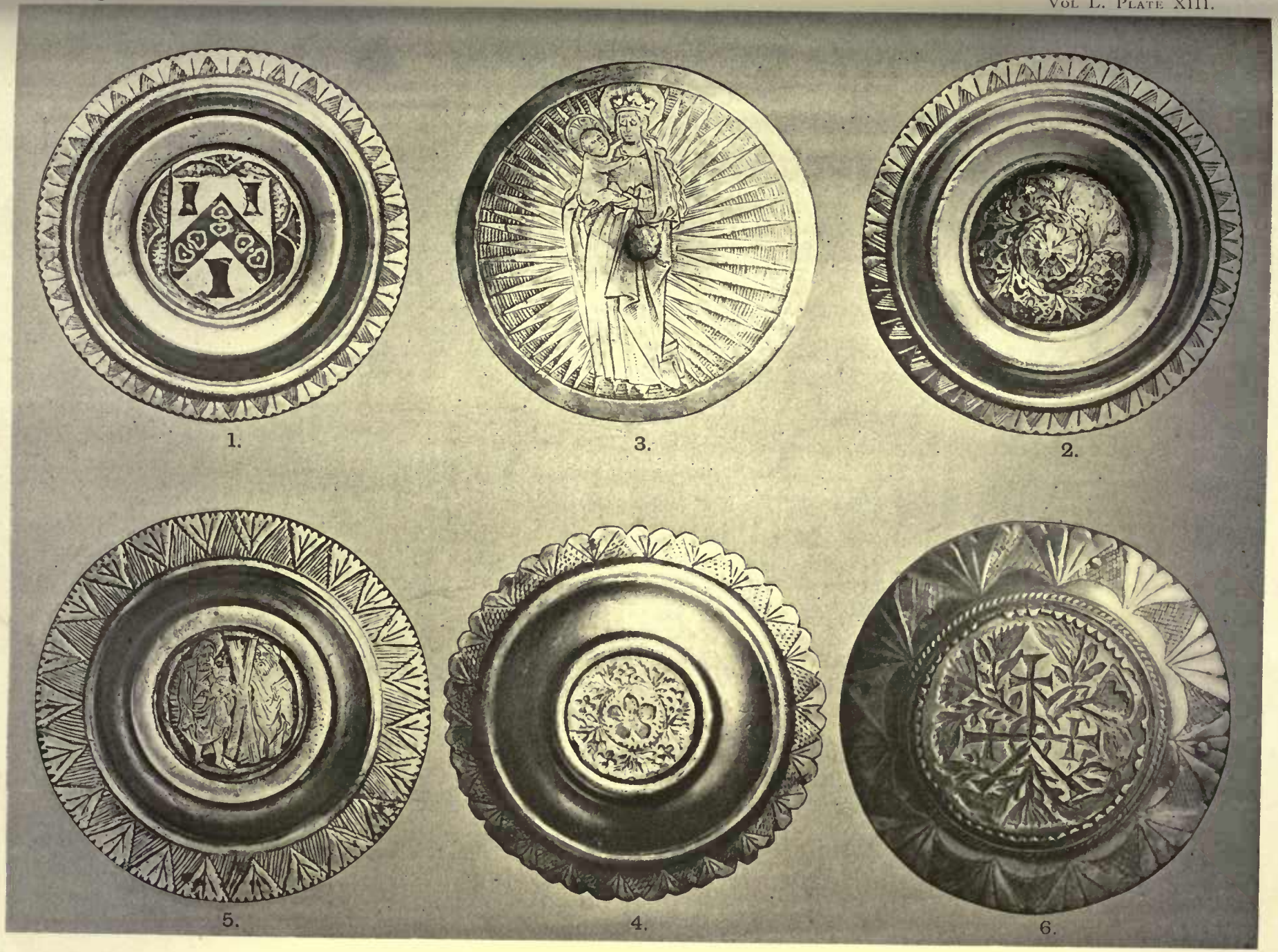
Although the series of early mazers is not complete enough to give us a regular sequence of examples showing the transition from Group I. to Group II.: the great break between the early mazers with the plain flat band and those with the later band is partly bridged over by two exceptionally interesting examples. The first of these, in the possession of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, has a plain flat band with a delicate series of upper moldings only, from which rise three small strawberry leaves to prevent the cover falling off. (See fig. 5.) The second, in the possession of All Souls College, Oxford, is very little if at all later in date, but it has a plain band which breaks out into a feathered and scalloped fringe below—separately worked, and not part of the band—the junction being concealed by a bold cable. (Fig. 10.)

About 1510 the band, while retaining its belts and fringe, becomes more vertical.

The remarks already made as to the prints of mazers are in great measure based on existing examples. (See figs. 1, 3, 4, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 23, and Plate XIII. for a graduated series from the end of the thirteenth century down to a dated instance of 1585-6.)

Of standing mazers, in which the foot is original, only three examples have survived. Engravings of two of them, at Pembroke College, Cambridge, and All Souls College, Oxford, are given in figs. 12 and 18. The third, at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, has not yet been properly engraved, in spite of the great beauty of its design and workmanship. In this case the foot is removeable at pleasure, like many of the mazers now lost to us. The Pembroke mazer also once exhibited the same peculiarity.

None of the mazers of this or the succeeding group have covers preserved with them. There is, however, an odd cover at All Souls College, Oxford, which



THE PHOTOTYPE Co.

EXAMPLES OF MAZER PRINTS.

1. Ironmongers' Company, London.
2. Oriel College, Oxford.
3. Edward VI.'s Almhouses, Saffron Walden, 1507-8.
4. Whitgift's Hospital, Croydon, 1508-9.
5. Epworth Church, Lincolnshire.
6. W. Jerdone Braikenridge, Esq., 1534-5.

once belonged to a late fifteenth century mazer. It is entirely covered with the remains of painting and gilding, now much injured, and has a defaced black-letter legend round the rim. It retains its original knob, a plain lobed one of silver-gilt.

Of Group III. only two mazers survive. The first of these belongs to the Worshipful Company of Armourers and Braziers, and is really, or was until recently, when the old bowl was renewed, a late fifteenth century mazer with an Elizabethan band, lining, and foot (added in 1579), with the original print fixed in the bottom. It has ornate straps connecting the band and foot.

The second is a highly interesting vessel belonging to the Rev. H. F. St. John. It has a band engraved with the characteristic Elizabethan woodbine pattern, but otherwise recals some of the features of the bands of Group II. It also has an excellent print engraved with the armorial bearings of the Cotes family. (See fig. 23.) The mazer itself is well seen in fig. 22.

There remains one more vessel to notice as bringing the tradition of a mazer down to a very late date. This is a plain maple-wood cup with a foot, belonging to Mr. H. Syer Cuming. It has no print, but had a fringed band now lost. Its date is *circa* 1600.

At Harbledown hospital, in addition to the fine series of mazers with bands and prints, there are three bowls of maple-wood, destitute of bands or prints, which it is difficult to assign a date to.

I have left to the last the mention of a beautiful mazer, probably of fourteenth century date, in the possession of All Souls College, Oxford. It is much more thinly and delicately made than the majority of mazers, and has a plain gold band and ornate socket for a print. It also retains its cover, which has a beautiful gold and jewelled handle. The college also possesses an odd cover of similar style and workmanship.

Both these vessels are probably French, and should be compared with a foreign mazer of equally delicate workmanship in the collection of Mr. A. W. Franks, which retains a beautiful *cuir bouilli* case.

It has not been thought necessary to enter into the literature of mazers, as that part of the subject has been so well set forth by Mr. W. J. Cripps in his *Old English Plate.*

The following is a detailed description of every English mazer which has come under the writer's notice :—

1. Harbledown Hospital, Kent.

Diameter, $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches; depth, 3 inches; height, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches; height of cover, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

The bowl is a fine and well-preserved specimen of the mottled maple-wood from which the mazer derives its name.

The band is a very narrow silver-gilt molded one, $\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide, fastened on the outside $\frac{1}{8}$ inch below the top by six pins which, inside the bowl, are covered by small quatrefoil studs. One of these studs is lost, and another has been replaced by a roughly-cut cinquefoil.

Fig. 1. Print of a mazer at Harbledown Hospital, Kent (full size).

The print is of two dates. (Fig. 1.) It consists of a circular silver-gilt medallion $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches in diameter, representing a combat between a lioness and a dragon. The background is diapered with spirals of foliage. This clearly pertains to the end of the thirteenth century. It is held in place by a silver mount bearing a rudely-cut inscription round the rim:

BY · ME · WILIAM SMYTHE GOD · SAVE
KINGE · IAMES THE I Anno Dom 1603.

This is not the original print, unless the central device be a portion of it, for there are the marks of a circular plate $3\frac{3}{16}$ inches diameter, which was held in position by at least thirty pins round the margin.

With this mazer is preserved a cover, which may or may not belong to it. It is a low conical one of wood, completely covered with painting in fair preservation. The subject is two lions, one in a quarrelsome attitude, separated from each other by large flowering plants. The field is painted a dark colour, spotted all over with groups of three small white spots. Round the outer margin is a plain band, and a similar band, but with a scroll-pattern, runs round the summit. The inside is painted a bright red. The cover is lifted by a small stud of plain wood, now broken and seemingly of no great antiquity.

Nothing is known of the history of this interesting mazer and cover.

2. Harbledown Hospital, Kent.

Diameter of bowl, $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches; depth, $3\frac{5}{16}$ inches; height, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches; diameter of foot, $4\frac{13}{16}$ inches; height, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch.

The bowl is of maple-wood, polished on the outside, and of slightly darker hue within. It has been repaired in eight places, five of them have the cracks crossed

Fig. 2. Early fourteenth-century maze: at Harbledown Hospital, Kent (half size).

by a singular series of silver straps on both sides and riveted through. These are apparently the result of some early injury, as the other places are covered by ugly strips of thin silver-gilt.

The band is $\frac{13}{16}$ inch deep outside, and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch inside. It is silver-gilt and perfectly plain.

Fig. 3. Print of a mazer at Harbledown Hospital, Kent (full size).

The print (fig. 3) is a nearly flat silver-gilt medallion $3\frac{9}{16}$ inches in diameter, fastened to the bowl by forty-three pins. It bears a representation in *repoussé* work of an incident in the life of the famous Guy of Warwick, when the hero slew a dragon which was pursuing a lion, in consequence of which the lion followed him like a dog everywhere he went. The scene is most graphically described in the MS. Romance of Guy of Warwick, in the Cambridge University Library, printed by the Early-English Text Society [a]:—[b]

> Gye sawe, as he dud ryde,
> As he blenchyd hym besyde,
> A lyon come towarde him werelye
> But vnnethe he myght drye.

[a] Extra Series, xxv. p. 110.

[b] MS. Ff. 2. 38.

He brayed faste and gaped wyde:
He wyste not, where he myȝt hym hyde.
Aftur hym come a dragon,
That folowde faste the lyon.
Hys hed was gret and grennyng
And his eyen, as fyre, brennyng.
Hys tethe scharpe, his mowþe wyde:
Hys body was grett and unryde.
He was grymme and he was felle:
He went, hyt had be þe deuyll of helle.
. . . . . .
Gye a spere toke in hys honde:
Fro hys felows he hym wonde.
He went forthe a gode spede
To helpe the lyon at that nede.
When þe dragon sawe Gyowne,
He came to hym and lefte þe lyone.
Gye sawe hym come fleande:
He toke hys spere in hys hande.
He lokyd, where he myȝt do hym skathe,
And he aspyed hyt sone full rathe.
Vndur the wynge he schett þe spere:
Thorow þe body he dud hym bere.
Then the dragon felle to grownde
And dyed in a lytull stownde.
He drewe hys swerde made of stele
And smote of hys hedde euery dele.
He behelde the body on grownde:
Hyt stanke, as a pyllyd hownde.
Gye rode to hys men warde:
The lyon folowed hym full harde.
He went before Gye pleying
And wyth hys tayle hym faynyge.
etc.

In the print Sir Guy is sitting on his horse clad in mail armour, with a shield of the Beauchamp arms—a fess between six cross-crosslets—on his left arm, and piercing with a long lance the dragon, a fearful beast lying dead on its back. In front of the horse's head is the lion, playing in front of him like a dog. The background is filled with trees. The ailettes appearing on the knight's shoulders

fix the date as *temp.* Edward II. Round the medallion is the legend in Lombardic capitals :

+ GY DE WARWYC : ADANOVN :
KECIOCCIS : LE DRAGOVN :

i. e. Guy of Warwick is his name
who here slays the dragon.

This mazer has been mounted on a short foot at some subsequent date, probably *circa* 1430. It is of silver-gilt and of simple design, the only ornament being a very narrow band of four-leaved flowers round the bottom.

Neither band nor foot bear any hall-marks, but for a reason already stated the mazer must date between 1307 and 1327.

Nothing is known of its history.

3. Harbledown Hospital, Kent.

Diameter of bowl, $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches; depth, $2\frac{5}{16}$ inches; height, $2\frac{9}{16}$ inches.

The bowl is of maple, which, in this instance, is more streaky than usual, and, to judge from its condition, of a tougher nature, and less liable to crack.

The silver-gilt band is very narrow, measuring only just over $\frac{3}{8}$ inch outside, and $\frac{1}{4}$ inch inside. It is quite plain. One-third of its circumference is broken away and lost.

The print is formed of a large oval crystal, about $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch long by 1 inch high, enclosed in a simple silver-gilt setting. It stands up from the bottom $\frac{11}{16}$ inch. This stone is commonly known as Becket's shoe buckle, and the Bishop of Dover tells me it is devoutly regarded as such by some modern Canterbury pilgrims.

At what time it was inserted in the mazer is not known, but this crystal is almost certainly the one alluded to by Erasmus in his amusing *Peregrinatio Religionis Ergo*. After visiting Canterbury, in describing the journey back to London, he makes Ogygius say :—

"Ad ejus viae laevum latus, est mendicabulum aliquot seniculorum : ab iis procurrit aliquis, simul atque sentiunt advenientem equitem : conspergit aqua sacra, mox offert *calcei summam partem obvinctam aereo circulo, in quo vitrum est gemmae specie.* Exosculati dant nummulum."[a]

[a] *Des Erasmi Roterod. Colloquia nunc emendatiora.* Amsterdam. Elzevir. 1662. pp. 381, 382.

Ogygius relates how Gratian, who was riding on his left hand, next to the hospital, had his sprinkling of holy water, which he patiently endured; but when the shoe was held out to him, he asked him what he wanted. To which the man replied :—

"Calceum esse Sancti Thomae,"

a statement which much enraged Gratian, who could not see any reason for kissing a man's shoe.

How far the tradition is true one cannot say, but there is no reason why the stone should not originally have had a place on the archbishop's sandal, and thus have come to be considered a relic of the holy martyr St. Thomas.

This mazer has no hall-marks and its date is uncertain, but probably fourteenth century.

4. Harbledown Hospital, Kent.

Diameter of bowl, $5\frac{5}{8}$ inches; depth, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch; height, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch.

The bowl is of maple-wood, and has been repaired by means of thin silver strips in two places.

The band is of silver, $\frac{5}{8}$ inch deep outside, and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch inside. It is perfectly plain.

The print is a flat circular piece of silver, quite plain, with the exception of three concentric engraved circles, and is fastened to the bottom of the mazer by no less than fifty-four rivets round the edge, and one in the centre.

This mazer has no hall-marks, and from its plain character is difficult to assign a date to. I see no reason, however, why it should not pertain to the early part of the fourteenth century.

Nothing is known of its history.

5. St. John's Hospital, Canterbury.

Diameter, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches; height, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch; depth, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch.

The bowl is a very shallow one, of maplewood, repaired in two places by irregular plates of silver-gilt.

The band is of silver-gilt and very narrow, being only $\frac{7}{16}$ inch deep outside, and $\frac{1}{4}$ inch within. It is quite plain, with the exception of an engraved line round its upper edge outside.

The print (fig. 4) is a flat silver-gilt medallion $1\frac{11}{16}$ inch in diameter, with a representation in *repoussé* work of the Virgin and Child. The Blessed Virgin is represented crowned, and is sitting on a panelled seat. On either side is a graceful branched plant or tree, filling up the space between the figures and a double circle enclosing the whole. Outside the circles is a narrow interval $\frac{1}{8}$ inch wide, through which pass thirteen small rivets to secure the print in the mazer. On the underside of the bowl is a thin brass plate fixed beneath the print by four pins.

Fig. 4. Print of a mazer at St. John's Hospital, Canterbury (full size).

Date, *circa* 1340.

6. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.[a]

Diameter of bowl, 5 inches; depth, $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches; height, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches; diameter of foot, $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch.

Maplewood bowl, with silver-gilt band 1 inch in depth inside and outside.

Fig. 5. Mazer at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (half size).

This band is quite different from any other known example. It is nearly vertical, and has no moldings except on its upper edge, where there is a small

[a] The Society is indebted to Professor J. H. Middleton, for the drawings of which Figs. 6, 7, and 8 are facsimiles.

beaded and plainly molded member. From this rise three small and beautifully worked strawberry leaves, equidistant from each other, and so fixed on the edge of the band as to prevent the cover tumbling off. No cover, however, now exists.

Fig. 6. Part of band of a mazer at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (full size).

Instead of a print this mazer has a perfectly unique arrangement (see section, fig. 7). In the bottom is fixed a circular plate of silver-gilt, with six very short projecting points. On this plate stands a hexagonal pillar, $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches high, and with a minimum diameter of $\frac{5}{8}$ inch, with molded base and battlemented top. Within the latter is fixed a well-modelled figure of a swan with its neck and head bent over the parapet. In the lowest member of the base are pierced a number of holes, and a hollow tube is fixed inside, open at both ends, so that it is impossible to fill the mazer with wine,

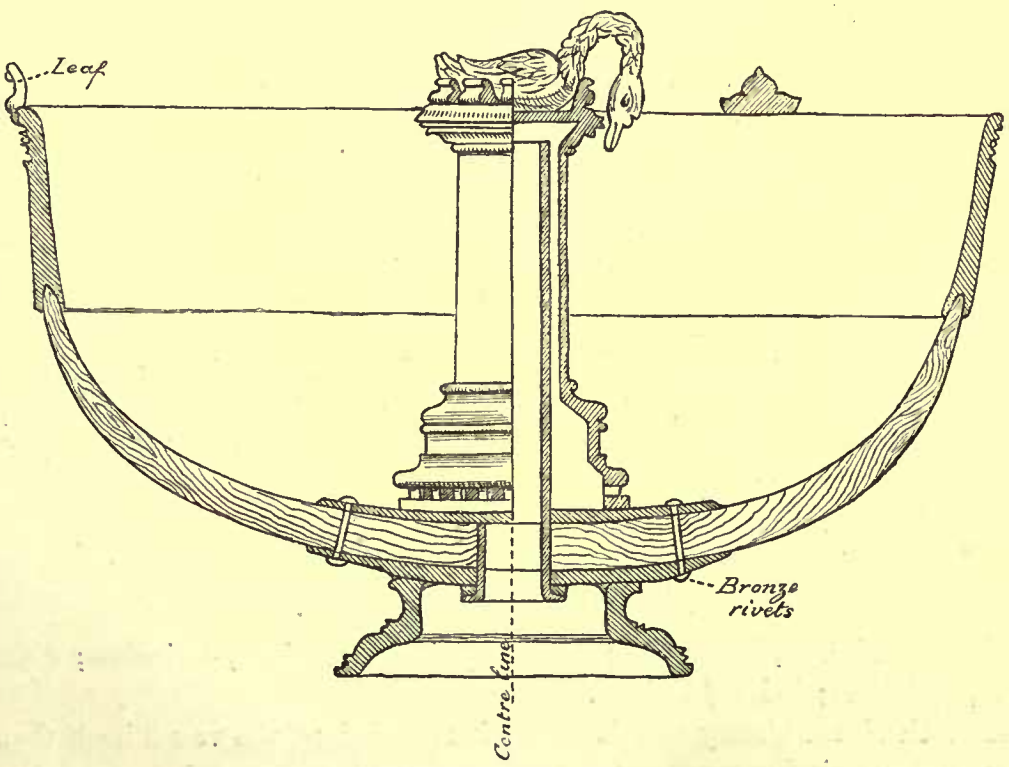


Fig. 7. Sectional elevation of a mazer at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (full size).

as, on reaching within a small distance of the top, the liquor flows up the pillar

down the tube, and escapes through the open end in the bottom of the mazer. The whole is a most beautifully-wrought piece of metal-work.

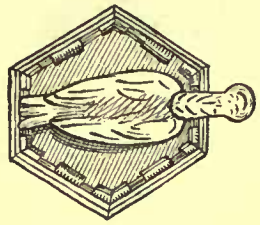


Fig. 8. Plan of top of pillar inside a mazer at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (full size).

Under the bowl is a similar plate to that inside, to which is fixed a short circular foot with egg-and-tongue molding. The foot and plates are Elizabethan additions.

In one part of the bowl a slight injury has been made good by lacing up the crack with fine silver wire. (See fig. 6.)

This beautiful and interesting mazer was given to the college by John Northwode, who was admitted fellow before 1384; it is therefore of late fourteenth century date. It is thus described in an inventory of the college plate, etc., drawn up in the early part of the fifteenth century:

Item unum maser cum coopertorio bene apparatum cum latis ligaturis argenteis in circumferencia et pede ciphi et capite coopertorii argenteis bene deauratis et in medio ciphi columpna est argenti deaurati super quam sedet s' (*sic*) cygnus deauratus et fit artis expime (*sic*) ista et hec masera fuit M. Jo. Northwode.[a]

7. St. John's Hospital, Canterbury.

Diameter, $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches; depth, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch.

The bowl is a beautifully mottled one of maple-wood, repaired in one place by a small triangular patch of gilt metal.

The band is, unfortunately, lost.

Fig. 9. Print of a mazer at St. John's Hospital, Canterbury (full size).

The print (fig. 9) is a circular flat button of copper, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter, engraved with a large crowned heart inscribed ihc, the field being covered with a small branched pattern. All the engraved work is filled with enamel, the crown and letters with dull red, the remainder with blue-black.

Date, late fourteenth century.

8. Dean and Chapter of York.

Diameter of bowl, $12\frac{5}{8}$ inches; depth, $2\frac{11}{16}$ inches; height, $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches; diameter of foot, $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches; height, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch.

So much of the history of this mazer is recorded on the vessel itself that the history and description must go together.

The bowl is of dark wood, probably maple, with a simple double molding

[a] I am indebted to my friend Mr. J. W. Clark, M.A., for transcribing this extract for me.

about 1½ inch below the brim. It is cracked in several places, and repaired by two rude and irregular bands—one of silver, the other of silver-gilt—one of which covers a crack extending right across the bowl.

The band is of silver-gilt, ¾ inch deep outside and ⅝ inch inside. It is quite plain, except that round the outer circumference is engraved in black letter the inscription—

> ✠ Recharde arche beſchope ſcrope grante on to all tho that drinkis of this cope xl^{ti} dayis to pardūn Robarte Gybſūn Beſchope moſin grante Jn ſame forme a fore ſaide xl^{ti} dayis to pardūn Robarte ſtrenſall.

The earliest record of this mazer is in the inventory of the jewels, ornaments, etc., of the gild of Corpus Christi at York, dated October 2nd, 1465 :

"unus ciphus magnus de murro, cum ligatura plana ex argento deaurato, qui vero ciphus indulgentialis digno nomine censetur, et hac de causa : Beatae quidam memoriae dominus Ricardus Scrop, quondam archiepiscopus Ebor., vere poenitentibus et confessis qui si de hoc cipho sobrie tamen cum moderamine et non excessive, nec ad voluntatem, mente pura potaverint, quadraginta dies indulgentiae contulit gratiose. Eadem enim murra appret. xl s. Quam quidem murram seu ciphum Agnes Wyman, olim uxor Henrici Wyman, quondam majoris civitatis Ebor., fraternitati Corporis Christi obtulit, quam devote, cujus anima pace requiescat perpetua. Amen."[a]

From the joint evidence of the legend on the band and the entry in the inventory, I am inclined to think that the mazer was originally the property of, if not made by, Henry Wyman, who was an eminent goldsmith of York, and mayor in 1407 and two following years. Richard Scrope was archbishop of York from 1398 to 1405, and the "beschope mosin" is supposed to be Richard Messing, who was bishop of Dromore from 1408 to 1410. As Wyman died in 1411, he could well have obtained the grants of indulgence from both bishops. The two names of Robert Gybson and Robert Strensall have been supposed to be

[a] Translation: One great cup of maple-wood with a plain band of silver-gilt, which cup is deemed by a worthy name an indulgence cup, and for this reason: Dan Richard Scrope of blessed memory, formerly archbishop of York, to those truly penitent and confessed who should drink of this cup soberly yet with moderation, and not excessively nor according to the will, (but) with a pure mind, graciously promised forty days of indulgence. The same mazer is valued at 40*s*. Which same mazer or cup Agnes Wyman, formerly the wife of Henry Wyman, once mayor of the city of York, most devoutly presented to the fraternity of Corpus Christi, whose soul rest in everlasting peace. Amen.

those of two unidentified members of the Corpus Christi gild. I am, however, disposed to think they were two notaries who thus testified the grants of indulgence, as a name follows each grant.

The mazer was doubtless given to the gild by Agnes Wyman after her husband's death. She herself died in 1413, so that the date of the mazer must fall within a very few years of 1400.

The gild of Corpus Christi was dissolved in 1546, at which time the mazer was probably sold. We next find it in the possession of the York Company of Cordwainers, but how or when they obtained it is not known. To them is due the addition of the foot, which is formed of a silver band supported on three cherubs' heads and inscribed

W + WALKER I + FROST + SEARCERS
1622 + R + B + BEADEL

It also bears the following hall-marks :

1 and 2. The maker's, P.P. in a shield, for Peter Pearson.
3. The York mark, a fleur-de-lis dimidiating the leopard's head, in a circle.
4. A capital P in a shield, the York date-letter for 1622-3.

At a still later period, probably because the huge cracks in the wood rendered it very leaky, the bowl was lined with silver; the fact and date being recorded by the inscription :

Searchers
When this plate was done
*being at the Company^s^ Charg^e^*
William Penrose
Jacob Lunde
An^o^ Dom 1669.

Whether the original print was then destroyed or covered over I cannot say; but the tradition was at any rate carried on by a splendid *repoussé* representation of the Cordwainers' arms—a chevron between three goats' heads erased—with a goat's head for a crest, and bold mantling. Below the shield is the date 1669 and the initials R.T. The whole is enclosed within a circular wreath and measures $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches across. The date is confirmed by the following hall-marks:

1. The maker's, PM in a shield, for Philemon Marsh.
2. The York mark, a fleur-de-lis dimidiating the leopard's head.
3. A script capital M, the York date-letter for 1669-70.

The next item in the mazer's history is recorded by a second inscription, which is not quite accurate in its opening lines:

This Ancient Bowl,
The gift of Archbishop Scrope
to the Company of Cordwainers *of* York,
Anno Dom: 1398,
With whom it remained till 1808
When the Company being dissolved,
it was presented by them
To WILLIAM HORNBY, *Gentleman,*
One of the Sheriffs *of the said City*
and
Head Searcher *to the Company,*
As a testimony of their Gratitude & Respect.

It was given by Mr. Hornby to its present owners, the Dean and Chapter of York.

This mazer has pertaining to it a large black leather case, now lined with red velvet. It is ornamented with brass nails on the top and bottom; in the latter case the nails being disposed to form the date 1740 with the initials W W and W C above and below respectively.

It is possible that the bowl of this mazer is a restoration of late Elizabethan or Jacobean date.

9. Jeffery Whitehead, Esq.

Diameter, $6\frac{1}{8}$ inches; depth, $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches; height, $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

The bowl of this mazer is of maple-wood, but of unusual depth and thickness. It is also furnished with a short foot.

The band is of copper gilt, $\frac{15}{16}$ inch deep outside, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch inside, and quite plain. It is engraved with two long scrolls, $\frac{5}{16}$ inch wide, inscribed in black letter characters:

(1) + Hold ȝowre tunge and ſey þe beſt
and let ȝowre neyȝbore ſitte in reſt
(2) Hoe ſo luſtyþe godᵗᵒ pleſe
let hys neyȝbore lyue in eſe

The print consists of a plainly-molded socket of gilt copper, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, enclosing a silver plate $1\frac{3}{16}$ inch in diameter, engraved with the monogram ihc.

The foot is part of the bowl, and quite plain. It has almost all perished from decay, but has recently been restored in composition, and protected by a plain silver rim, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter.

This mazer has no hall-marks, the band being copper only. Its date is probably *circa* 1420. It formerly belonged to John Gage Rokewode, Esq. and is described in Mr. Way's edition of the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, p. 328, note 2.

10. Mrs. J. W. Smith, Dinsdale Rectory, Durham.

Diameter of bowl, $4\frac{9}{16}$ inches; depth, $1\frac{9}{16}$ inch; height, $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches; diameter of foot, $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches; height, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch.

The bowl is of nicely-polished maple, now much cracked.

The band is of silver, $\frac{7}{8}$ inch deep outside and $\frac{5}{8}$ inch inside. It bears the inscription, lightly engraved on a hatched ground, in good black letter:

✠ In · caritate · perfecta · cōfirmet · nos · trenitas · sca

(May the Holy Trinity confirm us in perfect charity.)

The print is lost.

The foot of this mazer is an addition of Elizabethan times, and closely resembles the foot of the communion cups of the period. It is quite plain, excepting the lowest member, which has a variety of the egg-and-tongue pattern.

Neither band nor foot is hall-marked, but the lettering points to a date *circa* 1430.

This mazer was formerly used in the family of its possessor as a moist-sugar bowl.

11. All Souls College, Oxford.

Diameter, $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches; depth, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches; height, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches: diameter of foot, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches; height, $1\frac{5}{8}$ inch; weight of mazer, 19·85 ounces; weight of cover-rim, 5·55 ounces.

The bowl of this most interesting mazer is of maple-wood, now much decayed; a condition which it has evidently been in for a long time, as the lower portion is

lined and cased with thin silver-gilt plates. It is deeper and of more globular form than usual (see fig. 10).

Fig. 10. Mazer, and ring of its cover, at All Souls College, Oxford (half size).

The band is of silver gilt, $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch deep outside, and $\frac{5}{8}$ inch inside, and quite plain. It has a twisted cable and feathered fringe fixed on the lower edge.

The print (fig. 11) is a plainly molded boss, $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches in diameter, inclosing an enamelled plate, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter, with a finely executed shield of arms on

Fig. 11. Print from a mazer at All Souls College, Oxford, with arms and initials of Thomas Ballard (full size).

a reddish-brown ground—*sable, a griffin segreant ermine*, over which are the letters T B.

On each side of the shield the ground is diapered with scroll-work.

This mazer also retains the ring of its cover, a stout silver gilt band with an open cresting of small trefoils, now much damaged.

Sir William Anson, bart., warden of All Souls, has kindly sent me the following extract from an inventory of the college *bona et jocalia*, dated November 3, 1448, which proves, what I had already conjectured, that this mazer was the gift of Thomas Ballard:

j murram magnam coopertam cum armis T. Ballard' armigeri.

The Thomas Ballard here named, and whose arms and initials are on the mazer-print, was one of the Ballards of Horton, and was sheriff of Kent in 1452. He married Philippa, daughter of Thomas Walsingham of Chiselhurst, and died in 1465. His identity is placed beyond doubt by the names of himself and his wife occurring on a leaf of a service book with a list of benefactors preserved at All Souls college.[a]

12. Pembroke College, Cambridge.

Diameter of bowl, 5 inches; depth, 3 inches; height, 7 inches; diameter of foot, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Fig. 12. Standing mazer at Pembroke College, Cambridge[b] (nearly half-size).

[a] *Catalogue of the Archives in the Muniment Rooms of All Souls College (Oxford)*. By C. T. Martin, F.S.A. London, 1877, page 396.

[b] The Society is indebted to the Science and Art Department, South Kensington, for the loan of this illustration.

The bowl of this fine standing mazer was originally of maple-wood; but, having at some time been broken, it has been replaced by one of silver-gilt.

The band is of silver-gilt, and unusually deep, being $2\frac{5}{16}$ inches outside. It has plain molded bands and a broad rayed and scolloped fringe, and is inscribed in black letter:

✠ : ſayn : deneſ : yt : eſ : me : dere :
for-her-lof-drenk and mak : gud : cher ∽

The foot, which was originally removable at will, is long and spreading, with a beautiful open cresting encircling it just above the base. This base and cresting were deliberately sawn off about forty years ago, because they were considered to be of later date than the bowl; but have since been replaced. Midway on the stem of the foot is a band inscribed—

god help atned

above which is rudely scratched the letters vm, for "Valence Mary."[a]

The print stands up higher than usual. It is a silver-gilt boss, $\frac{7}{8}$ inch in diameter, engraved somewhat rudely with a letter m between two sprigs, once enamelled, though no traces now remain.

In an inventory dated 1491, in the College Register, is an added entry recording the gift of two great salts by Richard Sokborn, fellow, to which has been added the following further entry referring to the standing mazer:

Item una murra argentea cum scriptura circumiente God help at Ned et cum coopertorio ligneo pilam argenteam et deauratam in summitate habente.

Item 13 coclearia argentea deaurata cum calamis cacuminatis in modum turris. Ex dono praefati doctoris Sokborn.[b]

It appears from this that the mazer had a wooden cover surmounted by a silver-gilt knob. This is now lost, but was in existence in 1546:

Item pecia stans cum coopertorio ligneo X my ladies cup.

The Richard Sokborn who probably gave this mazer to the college was elected fellow in 1470, and vacated in 1478. He died at Soham in 1502.[c] The mazer is not much earlier than his time. Its date is probably *circa* 1460.

[a] The foundress of the college was Mary de St. Paul, widow of Aymer de Valence.

[b] Quoted by Rev. J. J. Smith, in his *Specimens of College Plate, Camb. Antiq. Soc.* 4to. 1845. Mr. Smith also gives a plate of the mazer in its mutilated condition.

[c] I am indebted to the Rev. C. E. Searle, D.D. Master of Pembroke, for this information.

13. St. Petrock's Church, Exeter, Devon.

Diameter, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches; depth, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches; height, $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

The bowl is, with the exception of one crack, in perfect condition, and a good specimen of maple-wood.

The silver-gilt band has the usual quatrefoil belts and fringe, but is otherwise plain. It is $1\frac{7}{16}$ inch deep outside, and $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch inside.

The print is a circular plainly-molded boss, $2\frac{5}{16}$ inches in diameter, enclosing a silver plate engraved with a small blank shield in the centre, circumscribed:

A gift to the Parifh of St. Petrock.

Possibly the original plate was replaced by this in the reign of Elizabeth, on account of its bearing a figure of a saint, or some "superstitious" device. No hall-marks. Date 1480-90.

Nothing is known of the history of this mazer, but it was given to the church between 1661 and 1698, in an inventory of which latter year it is described as "One shell with a large silver Bind double gilt."[a] Until a short time ago the outside of the bowl was thickly covered with varnish, and the inside lined with red velvet. At my suggestion both have been removed, much to the improvement of the mazer.

14. Captain Vyner.

Diameter, $6\frac{1}{8}$ inches; depth, $1\frac{13}{16}$ inch; height, $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches; weight, 6·15 ounces.

The bowl is a good specimen of the speckled maple, and quite perfect.

The band is of silver-gilt, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch deep outside, and $1\frac{1}{16}$ inch inside. It has the usual minute belts of four-leaved flowers above and below, with the characteristic rayed fringe, but is otherwise plain.

The print is silver-gilt, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and consists of a plainly-molded boss enclosing a small silver plate with a five-petalled flower enamelled red and green.

No hall-marks. Date, *circa* 1480-90.

[a] I am indebted to our Fellow Mr. Robert Dymond for this information.

15. All Souls College, Oxford.

Diameter, 6 inches; depth, 2 inches; height, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches; weight, 5·25 ounces.

The bowl is of maple and quite perfect. It has a silver-gilt band, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch deep outside and $1\frac{3}{16}$ inside. With the exception of the usual belts and fringe, this is quite plain. The belts are filled with small roundels, instead of the more common four-leaved flowers.

The silver-gilt print is a plainly-molded raised boss, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, enclosing a plate engraved with ihc surrounded by a glory of sixteen major and sixteen minor rays, on a field of dark blue enamel.

There are no hall-marks.

Nothing is known of the history of this mazer.

Date, *circa* 1480-90.

16. Clynnog Church, Carnarvonshire.

Diameter, 5 inches; depth, 2 inches.

The bowl of this mazer is of dark maple-wood and quite plain.

The band is of the usual late form, and measures $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in depth outside, and 1 inch inside. It is of silver-gilt, with characteristic belts of four-leaved flowers and rayed fringe, and bears the following inscription in black letter:—

Ihc nazarenus rex iudeorum
fili dei miserere mei

with leaves and foliage for stops.

The print is of silver-gilt, and consists of a plainly-molded boss $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch in diameter, enclosing a silver plate $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter, engraved with a number of flowers, originally enamelled.

Nothing is known of the history of this mazer. It is and always has been, as far as memory goes, used for collecting the offertory at celebrations of the Holy Communion.

Date, *circa* 1480-90.

17. Fairford Church, Gloucestershire.

Diameter, $5\frac{1}{8}$ inches; depth, 2 inches; height, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches; weight, 5·15 ounces.

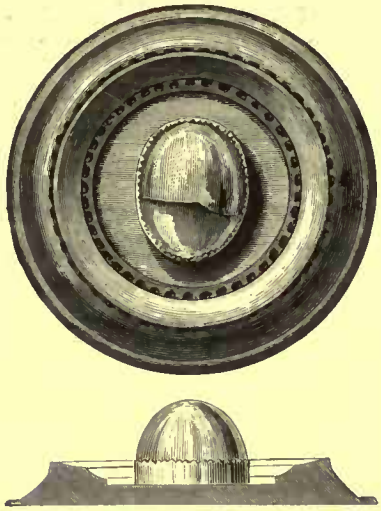


Fig. 13. Print of a mazer (with section) at Fairford church, Gloucestershire (full size).

The bowl is of some light-coloured hard wood, seemingly beech, much thicker than usual, and perhaps a restoration.

The silver-gilt band is $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch deep outside and $1\frac{5}{16}$ inch inside. It is quite plain, with the usual belts and fringe.

The print (fig. 13) is a silver-gilt plainly-molded raised boss, $1\frac{5}{16}$ inch in diameter, with a depressed top, in which is fixed an oval crystal (cracked right across) $\frac{3}{4}$ inch long. This mazer was therefore probably regarded as a so-called "poison cup."

Nothing is known of its history.

There are no hall-marks.

Date, *circa* 1480-90.

18. Holy Trinity Church, Colchester, Essex.[a]

Diameter, $6\frac{9}{16}$ inches; depth, $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches; height, $2\frac{9}{16}$ inches.

Fig. 14. Print of a mazer at Holy Trinity church, Colchester (full size).

The bowl is of maple and almost perfect.

The band is of silver-gilt, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch deep outside, and $1\frac{5}{16}$ inch inside. It has an upper and lower belt of small quatrefoils, with an inferior rayed fringe, and bears the legend in black letter:

✠ **Jaſpar · fert · myrram** (ivy sprig) **tus · melchior** (trefoil sprig) **baltaſar · aurum** (rose sprig).

This is therefore an example of what is known as a "Three Kings" cup.

[a] A plate of this mazer is given in *Trans. of Essex Archaeol. Soc.* iii. Part I. page 76.

The print (fig. 14) is an admirable specimen, with good moldings, and engraved in the centre with the monogram ihs.

Date, *circa* 1480-90.

Nothing is known of the history of this mazer, but it is probably the same as that bearing the same legend engraved in *Gent. Mag.* for 1791, p. 417, where it is anonymously described, and no clue given as to its whereabouts. It is there said to have been found near Crediton, Devon.[a]

19. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Diameter of bowl, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches; depth, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch; height, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches; diameter of foot, $3\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Maple-wood bowl, with silver-gilt band, $1\frac{7}{16}$ inch deep outside and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch within. The band is of the usual late form, with the moldings studded with square four-leaved flowers. It has a rayed fringe, and is inscribed with the names of the Three Kings:

Jaſpar melchior balthaſar

with beautiful open crowns, between a pair of long-pointed leaves, for stops.

The print (fig. 15) is $1\frac{7}{16}$ inch in diameter, consisting of a plainly-molded silver-gilt socket, with narrow invected fringe, enclosing a small silver-gilt plate $\frac{7}{16}$ inch in diameter, engraved with a squirrel sitting on the back of a fish, seemingly a pike or luce; the whole being covered with translucent green enamel.[b]

Fig. 15. Print of a mazer at Corpus Christi college, Cambridge (full size).

Underneath the bowl is fixed a silver-gilt circular plate with rayed fringe, on which is a short silver socket-piece with three flanges. This fits into the upper part of a beautifully wrought foot in such a manner that a short turn converts the mazer into a standing cup, the foot being removable at pleasure.

This foot is $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, and is formed of six rounded lobes, starting from a cable-band, and gradually increasing in diameter as they descend the spread with a spiral twist. The lower

[a] It is also said to have been found on or near the site of Wolmerstone chapel, Devon, and now in the possession of the Hamlyn family. *Trans. of the Exeter Dioc. Arch. Soc.* v. 19.

[b] The print is engraved in Smith's *Specimens of College Plate*, p. 14, where a plate is also given of the mazer.

member is quite plain, with an ogee section. The junction of the two parts is covered by a beautifully wrought open cresting of small Tudor flowers, resting on a molded and beaded band.

It is most unfortunate that this beautiful standing mazer is not hall-marked. Its date appears to be *circa* 1490.

20. A. W. Franks, Esq.

Diameter, $5\frac{3}{16}$ inches; height, $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

The bowl is of maple-wood, and quite perfect.

It has a silver-gilt band, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch deep outside, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch within, with the usual belts of four-leaved flowers and a rayed fringe.

On the band is inscribed in black letter:

Potum (two ivy leaves) **et** (two ivy leaves) **nos** (two ivy leaves and berries) **benedicat** (two ivy leaves and berries) **agyos** (three ivy leaves and berries).

(May the Holy One bless us and our drink.)

The use of the Greek word is unusual.

The print is silver-gilt, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter, plainly molded, with a minute beaded ring, enclosing a silver plate, 1 inch in diameter, with enamelled flowers.

This mazer is well engraved and described in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. viii. page 370.

Date, *circa* 1490.

21. Oriel College, Oxford.

Diameter, $7\frac{13}{16}$ inches; depth, $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches; height, 3 inches; weight, 11·35 ounces.

The bowl is quite perfect, and of maple-wood.

The band is silver-gilt, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch deep outside, and $1\frac{5}{16}$ inch inside. It bears the inscription in black letter:

✠ **Vir · racione** (leaf) **bibas** (two flowers) **non** (flower) **quod** (leaf) **petit · atra** (monster) **uoluptas** (wreathed head) **Sic** (leaf) **caro** (leaf) **casta** (four-leaved flower) **datur** (flower) **lis · lingue** (leaf) **suppeditatur.**[a]

[a] My friend Mr. W. B. Pulling, M.A. thus renders this into English:

Man, in thy draughts let reason be thy guide
And not the craving of perverted lust,
So honest nourishment will be supplied,
And strife of tongue be trampled in the dust.

Above the legend is the usual small belt of four-leaved flowers, and below it another of minute roundels, with the characteristic fringe.

Fig. 16. Mazer at Oriel College, Oxford [a] (about two-thirds full size).

The print (Plate XIII. No. 2) is of silver-gilt. It consists of a plainly-molded boss, rising from a rayed and scalloped circle, $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches in diameter, and enclosing a silver plate, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter, with a circlet of flowers enamelled pink and blue.

The mazer now stands on a silver-gilt ring foot, $\frac{5}{8}$ inch deep, ornamented with rays and a beaded circle. From its appearance, this is a comparatively modern addition, but it may replace an older one.

There are no hall-marks on this mazer. It is said to have been given to the college by John Carpenter, bishop of Worcester, who died in 1476.

22. S. E. Shirley, Esq.

Diameter, $6\frac{7}{8}$ inches; depth, $2\frac{1}{16}$ inches; height, $2\frac{5}{16}$ inches.

The bowl is of maple-wood, but has unfortunately been varnished. It is quite plain.

The band is of silver-gilt, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep outside, and $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch within, and of

[a] The Society is indebted to Mr. John Murray, F.S.A. for the loan of this illustration.

the characteristic late form, with molded belts above and below, each studded with a band of small roundels arranged in three rows. It has a rayed fringe.

It bears the following inscription in beautifully-engraved black letter on a hatched ground, with elegant sprigs of foliage for stops:

> In (sprig) the (sprig) name (sprig) of (sprig) the
> (sprig) trinite[a] ⋄ fille (sprig) the (sprig) kup ⋄ and
> (sprig) drink ⋄ to ⋄ me ⋄

The original print has been lost, and replaced by a plain, flat plate of silver-gilt, $2\frac{8}{16}$ inches in diameter, seemingly of late sixteenth century date.

The date of this mazer is probably *circa* 1490. It is engraved in Parker's *Domestic Architecture*,[b] and also by Mr. Wilfred Cripps in his *Old English Plate*, but in both cases the inscription is incorrectly given.

23. The Worshipful Company of Ironmongers, London.

Diameter, $6\frac{3}{8}$ inches; depth, $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches; weight, 6·4 ounces.

The bowl is of maple-wood, with one crack.

Fig. 17. Mazer in the possession of the Worshipful Company of Ironmongers[c] (half size).

The band is silver-gilt, $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch deep outside, and 1 inch within, with plain moldings and fringe. It is inscribed in black letter:

> ✠ Aue naria[d] ḡca plena dns
> tecum bn̄dicta tu i̅ mulieribꝫ ꝛ
> benedictus fructus

[a] *Sic.*

[b] Vol. ii. p. 62. Oxford, 1853.

[c] The Society is indebted to the Science and Art Department, South Kensington, for the loan of this illustration.

[d] *Sic.*

The print (Plate XIII. No. 1) is a silver-gilt boss, on a rayed plate, $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches in diameter, and encloses a silver plate, $1\frac{1}{16}$ inch in diameter, with the Company's arms, enamelled in proper colours: *Argent, on a chevron gules between three gads of steel azure, three swivels or.* The shield is on a green quatrefoil with black spandrils. These arms were granted to the Ironmongers' Company in 1455.

Date, *circa* 1500.

24. The Worshipful Company of Ironmongers, London.

Diameter, $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches; height, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches; weight, 7·63 ounces.

The bowl is of maple-wood, but a modern restoration. It has a silver-gilt band, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch deep outside, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch within, with the usual belts of four-leaved flowers, and a rayed fringe. It is otherwise plain.

The print is a plainly-molded silver-gilt boss, set in a rayed and fringed plate, $2\frac{15}{16}$ inches in diameter, and enclosing a silver plate, $1\frac{5}{16}$ inch in diameter, enamelled with the Company's arms, similar to the last-described mazer.

No hall-marks. Date, *circa* 1500.

25. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Diameter of bowl, $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches; depth, $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch.

Maple-wood bowl, with characteristic late band of silver-gilt, $1\frac{3}{16}$ inch deep outside and $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch within.

The band has the usual moldings set with four-leaved flowers, and a rayed fringe, but no inscription or hall-marks.

There is no print, and it is quite clear there never was one.

Date, *circa* 1500.

26. All Souls College, Oxford.

Diameter, $6\frac{11}{16}$ inches; depth, $2\frac{5}{16}$ inches; height, $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches; weight, 9 ounces.

The bowl is of maple-wood, somewhat worm-eaten.

The band is silver-gilt, $1\frac{9}{16}$ inch deep outside and $1\frac{7}{16}$ inch inside. It has the usual belts of small four-leaved flowers and rayed fringe, but is otherwise plain.

The print is unfortunately represented by its lowest member only, a circular silver-gilt plate with rayed edge, $2\frac{7}{16}$ inches in diameter, from the centre of which rises a stout iron pin tipped with lead, to which was fixed the plate originally inside the lost boss. Mutilated as it is, what remains of this print is interesting as showing the mode of construction of the later raised examples.

The pin in the centre of the print passes right through the bowl, and is much longer than usual. Adding to this the fact that the bottom of the bowl has a thick rough coating of cement of some kind, it appears that there was once a foot, constituting the vessel a "standing mazer."

There are no hall-marks.

Date, *circa* 1500.

27. South Kensington Museum.

Diameter, $7\frac{11}{16}$ inches; depth, $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

The bowl is of maple-wood, and, as usual, quite plain.

The band is silver-gilt, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch deep outside and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch within, with the characteristic moldings and belts of four-leaved flowers, and a rayed and scalloped fringe.

The print is of silver-gilt, $2\frac{15}{16}$ inches in diameter, with a rayed base-plate. The small silver plate in the top is $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter, and is engraved with the Holy Trinity, and enamelled. Around this, on the enclosing ring, is inscribed—

robert chalker Jhesus

I have not been able to ascertain who Robert Chalker was.

The date of this mazer is *circa* 1500.

Under the bowl has been cut—

P ✲ P
T 1578 R

28. All Hallows Church, Goldsmith Street, Exeter.

Diameter, $6\frac{1}{8}$ inches; depth, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

The mazer which this church is fortunate enough to possess is a good example of its class, though it presents no especial features. It has a maple-wood bowl, now varnished, surmounted by a silver-gilt band, $1\frac{5}{16}$ inch deep outside and

$1\frac{3}{16}$ inch inside, with characteristic moldings set with small four-leaved flowers, and a rayed and scalloped fringe. The print is a silver-gilt boss with rayed and scalloped fringe, $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches in diameter, enclosing a silver plate engraved with a five-leaved flower within a wreath of smaller flowers and leaves, all once enamelled.

This mazer was presented to the church in 1843 by Mr. W. R. Sobey. Of its previous history nothing is known. It has no hall-marks, but is probably of a date *circa* 1510.

29. King Edward VI.'s Almshouses, Saffron Walden, Essex.

Diameter, $7\frac{5}{8}$ inches; depth, $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch; height, $2\frac{3}{16}$ inches; weight, 9 ounces.

The bowl is of maple-wood and cracked in two places. The interior appears to have been varnished.

The band is a perfectly plain one of silver-gilt, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch deep outside, and $\frac{5}{8}$ inch inside. It has three hall-marks:

(1.) The maker's, the head of a female saint;

(2.) The leopard's head in a circular stamp;

(3.) A small old-English ƙ, the London date-letter for 1507-8.

These appear to be the same marks as those on a chalice and paten at West Drayton.

The print (Plate XIII. No. 3) is a circular plate of silver-gilt, $2\frac{13}{16}$ inches in diameter, engraved with the Blessed Virgin and Child in a glory of long rays. It is secured to the bowl by an iron nail driven through the middle.

From the fact of this clumsy fastening and the existence of a large patch of cement under the bowl, I am inclined to think this mazer originally possessed a foot, now lost.

Of its history nothing certain is known, but one interesting item occurs in the famous Diary of Samuel Pepys. On the 27th February, 1659-60, he visited Saffron Walden and Audley End, and he says:

> "In our going, my landlord carried us through a very old hospital or almshouse, where forty poor people was maintained; a very old foundation; . . . . . They brought me a draft of their drink in a brown bowl tipt with silver, which I drank off, and at the bottom was a picture of the Virgin and the child in her arms, done in silver."

There can be no doubt, therefore, that this mazer is the bowl Pepys drank from. It was at the almshouses in 1524, for an inventory of that date records as "In the Botre. a masyr w^{t} sylver and gylt." Of late years the bowl has been used for the Governors to drink out of at the annual election and on some other occasions; the custom being that each person drinking out of it gave a shilling to the town crier who handed it round. It was so used quite recently, but being found leaky the practice has been discontinued. It is now used as a ballot dish and for dispensing certain money doles to the inmates of the almshouses.

30. Whitgift's Hospital, Croydon.

Diameter, $7\frac{1}{8}$ inches; height, $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches; weight 8·97 ounces.

The bowl of this mazer is of maple-wood and has recently been repaired and hardened by Mr. Ready, of the British Museum.

The band is of silver-gilt, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch deep outside, and $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch within, of the usual late form, with belts of four-leaved flowers and a rayed fringe. It bears the following hall-marks:

(1.) The maker's, × (stamped in);

(2.) The leopard's head crowned, in a circle;

(3.) A small black-letter l, the London date-letter for 1508-9.

The print (Plate XIII. No. 4) is a silver-gilt boss 3 inches in diameter, with a fringe of short rays, enclosing a silver plate 1 inch in diameter engraved with flowers, once enamelled.

31. A. W. Franks, Esq.

Diameter, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches; depth, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

The bowl of this mazer is of maple-wood, but a modern restoration.

The band is of silver-gilt, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch deep outside and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch within, of the usual late form, with belts studded with four-leaved flowers and a rayed and scalloped fringe. It bears the following hall-marks:

(1.) A small black-letter n, the London date-letter for 1510-11;

(2.) The leopard's head crowned;

(3.) The maker's, a hind's or ram's head.

The print is a silver-gilt boss $2\frac{3}{16}$ inches in diameter, enclosing a small silver plate engraved with flowers, originally enamelled.

32. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Diameter of bowl, $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches; depth, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch.

Maple-wood bowl with silver-gilt band $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch deep outside and 1 inch within.

The band is of characteristic late form, with plain moldings and rayed fringe on its lower edge; but the lower band of moldings has a hollow member studded at short intervals with small balls.[a]

In the bottom is the usual print; in this case a somewhat rudely-made silver-gilt socket with rayed plate beneath, $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches in diameter, enclosing a silver plate $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter, engraved with a five-leaved flower with surrounding sprigs, enamelled red and green.

On the band are these hall-marks:

(1.) The leopard's head crowned;

(2.) A Lombardic D, the London date-letter for 1521-2;

(3.) The maker's mark—apparently a ragged staff.

33. Epworth Church, Lincolnshire.

Diameter, $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches; depth, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches; height 3 inches; weight, 15·9 ounces.

The bowl of this exceptionally fine mazer is of maple-wood, but much decayed and injured. It has recently been hardened and repaired by Mr. Ready, who, in cleaning off the varnish and dirt with which it was covered, laid bare the marks of six metal attachments just below the edge of the band. These may have had some connection with a foot to the mazer of which no other traces remain.

The band is an unusually broad one of silver with traces of gilding. It is $2\frac{1}{16}$ inches deep outside and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches inside, and quite plain, with the exception of an upper and lower band of moldings set with minute four-leaved flowers. It has also a rayed fringe on the lower edge.

The print (Plate XIII. No. 5) consists of a plainly molded boss of silver, once gilt, with broad rayed fringe 3 inches in diameter, enclosing a plate $1\frac{3}{16}$ inch across, engraved with figures of St. John Baptist and St. Andrew—the latter being the saint in whose honour Epworth church is dedicated. The field bears traces of enamel.

There are no hall-marks, but the date of this mazer is *circa* 1525.

[a] See the description further on of Mr. Braikenridge's mazer, which has a similar ornament on the band.

34. All Souls College, Oxford.

Diameter, $4\frac{13}{16}$ inches; depth, $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches; height, $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches; height of foot, $3\frac{9}{16}$ inches.

The bowl is of maple-wood, and quite perfect.

The band is silver-gilt, $1\frac{3}{16}$ inch deep outside and $1\frac{1}{16}$ inch within, and of the usual form, but with reeded belts above and below; the latter is surmounted by a cable, and has a rayed fringe underneath.

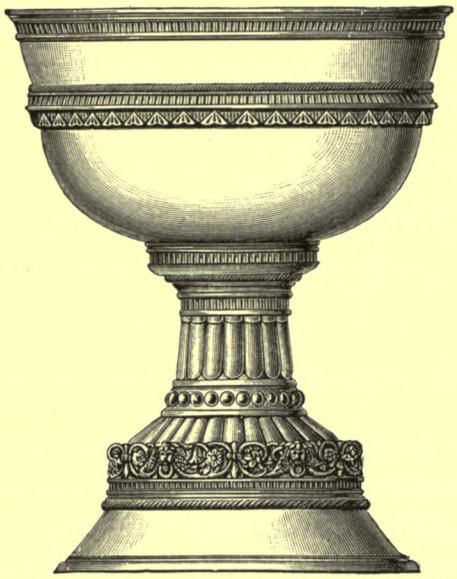


Fig. 18. Standing mazer at All Souls College, Oxford, 1529-30[a] (half-size).

The print, which was $1\frac{15}{16}$ inch in diameter, is lost, and only the pins remain.

The foot is of silver-gilt. It consists of a short gadrooned stem, with a sort of reeded capital, and a double base, the upper gadrooned, the lower plain, with a beautiful open floral cresting, with a reeded band below, which in turn rises out of a cable.

Under the foot is scratched, "R. Douenden Custos 1571."

The band and foot bear the following hall-marks:

(1.) The maker's, a cross between I C, in a shield;[b]

(2.) The leopard's head crowned, in a circle;

(3.) A Lombardic M, the London date-letter for 1529-30.

[a] The Society is indebted to the Science and Art Department, South Kensington, for the loan of this illustration.

[b] The same maker's mark occurs on a spare cover of a cup at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 1531-2.

35. St. Giles' Church, Cripplegate, London.

Diameter, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches; depth, $2\frac{1}{16}$ inches; height, $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches; height of foot, $1\frac{5}{16}$ inch; diameter of foot, $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

The maple-wood bowl is perfect.

The band is copper-gilt, with reeded moldings and rayed fringe, and of the usual late form.

The print is a copper-gilt boss, 2 inches in diameter, with a fringe of short rays, enclosing a plate $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter, engraved with a merchant's mark (fig. 19).

Fig. 19. Merchant's mark on print of a mazer at St. Giles' church, Cripplegate, London (full-size).

To this interesting mazer a silver-gilt foot has been added. It consists of a vertical piece with a beautiful *repoussé* band of foliage, inscribed above :

+ IHON · BVRDE · MEAD · THIS · IN · ANNO DOMINE 1568.

The base has a lightly-engraved band of birds and beasts, and a lozenge with the initials I B.

The date of this mazer is *circa* 1530, and of its foot 1568.

36. A. W. Franks, Esq.[a]

Diameter, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches; height, $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches; weight, 9·8 ounces.

The bowl is of maple-wood; and, with the exception of one slight crack, quite perfect.

The band is silver-gilt, of the usual form, with plain moldings and rayed fringe. It is $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch deep outside, and $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch inside, and more vertical than those of its class. It is inscribed in Gothic lettering:

MISEREMINI MEI MISEREMINI MEI SALTEM VOS AMICI.

(At least have pity on me, have pity on me, O ye my friends. Job xix. 21.)

The print is a silver-gilt boss with short-rayed fringe, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, with a domed centre, engraved with two Lombardic A's conjoined, between four quatrefoils.

Date, *circa* 1530.

[a] Engraved in Cripps' *Old English Plate.* 3rd edition, p. 212.

37. A. W. Franks, Esq.

Diameter, 7 inches; height, $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches; weight, 8·5 ounces.

The bowl is of maple-wood. In one place it has a small silver-gilt strap covering a defect, and bearing part of an inscription, IEHVS.

The band is silver-gilt, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch deep outside and $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch inside, and has simple moldings round the top and bottom, with the usual rayed and scalloped fringe on the lower edge. It bears the following inscription in Gothic lettering on a hatched ground:

+ CIPHVS ◊ REFECTORII ◊ ROFENSIS ◊ PERFRATREM ◊
RObERTVM ◊ PECHAM.

The print is of silver-gilt, $2\frac{5}{16}$ inches in diameter, and consists of a plainly-molded boss with rayed and scalloped edge, enclosing a small plate $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch in diameter, with an engraved and enamelled figure of St. Benedict with his crosier and book, standing between two plants.[a] His identification is put beyond doubt by the addition of his name: S. BENIT.

The band and print of this mazer bear the following hall-marks:

(1.) The maker's, an open hand;

(2.) The leopard's head crowned (in a circle);

(3.) A Lombardic P, the London date-letter for 1532-3.

This mazer, as its inscription tells us, was originally one of the drinking bowls in the frater of the Benedictine priory at Rochester. How it survived the suppression of the priory is not known, but it eventually found its way into the Fontaine collection at Narford Hall, Norfolk. At the sale of this collection in June 1884, it was sold for 252*l*., and became the property of its present owner.

Robert Peckham was a monk of Rochester, and his name is appended to the acknowledgment of the King's supremacy in the Public Record Office, executed by the prior and convent in 1534.

This mazer is engraved in *Archaeologia*, xxiii. 392, and a portion of the band in Cripps' *Old English Plate*, 3rd edition, p. 211.

[a] Perhaps meant for herb-bennet.

38. W. Jerdone Braikenridge, Esq.

Diameter, $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches; depth, $2\frac{13}{16}$ inches; height, $7\frac{13}{16}$ inches; height of foot, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

The bowl of this beautiful mazer is of maple, and, with one small exception, quite perfect.

Fig. 20. Mazer, with inverted tazza for a foot, in the possession of W. Jerdone Braikenridge, Esq.[a] (About one-third full size.)

The band is a very fine specimen. It is silver-gilt, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep outside and $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch inside, and bears the following inscription in Gothic letters:

⁜ BE (lozenge) YOW (flower) MERE (ape) AND (pig sejant) GLADE (hare or dog) AND (flower) SOO (hart lodged) THE (man sitting, holding a staff and blowing a horn) MASTERS (flower) TOKERYS (hart at speed) DO (fruit) BYED (flower).

Above the inscription is a belt of lozengy diaper, and below it a cavetto studded with small balls, about $\frac{3}{8}$ inch apart, with a cable above and a scalloped and rayed fringe below.

[a] The Society is indebted to the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society for the loan of this illustration.

An engraving of a portion of the band with the hall-marks is here given (full size) with a section :

Fig. 21. Portion of the band (with section) of a mazer in the possession of W. Jerdone Braikenridge, Esq. (full size).

The print (Plate XIII. No. 6) consists of a circular boss of silver, enclosing within a cable molding a silver plate, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter, once enamelled, bearing a merchant's mark with foliage round. The boss stands on a broad rayed fringe, the whole being 3 inches in diameter, standing up $\frac{5}{8}$ inch from the bottom of the bowl.

Nothing is known of the history of this mazer.

Its date is fortunately fixed by the following hall-marks on the band :

(1.) The maker's, a sort of double-headed pheon ;

(2.) The leopard's head crowned ;

(3.) A Lombardic R, the London date-letter for 1534-5.

This mazer has for a foot a fine Elizabethan tazza inverted. Were the five small pins taken out by which it is attached to the mazer, both pieces would be restored to their proper condition. This should not be delayed, as the stem of the tazza has already been crushed in through the weight of the mazer when repeatedly set down roughly.

On the outer edge of the tazza is the inscription :

Non donum Sed donatorem 16 I E 21

and the following hall-marks :

(1.) The maker's, illegible ;

(2.) The leopard's head crowned ;

(3.) The lion passant guardant ;

(4.) Apparently a small black-letter c, the London date-letter for 1560-1.

39. St. John's Hospital, Canterbury.

Diameter, $4\frac{15}{16}$ inches; height, $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch; depth, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch.

The bowl is of maple-wood, repaired in two places, and badly cracked in a third.

The band is lost.

The print is a thin plate of silver-gilt, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter, slightly bossed up in the centre, and poorly engraved with a rose on a hatched ground. Part of one side has been broken away. The plate is now fastened down by six rivets around one-half of its circumference only.

The date of this mazer, in the absence of the band and hall-marks, is difficult to determine. The bowl has an early look about it, but the print, which may not be the original one, is clearly of sixteenth-century date, and perhaps Elizabethan.

40. The Worshipful Company of Armourers and Braziers, London.

Diameter, $11\frac{1}{16}$ inches; depth, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches; height, 6 inches; diameter of foot, $6\frac{1}{16}$ inches; height of foot, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch.

The bowl is modern, and was made in place of the old one a few years ago.

The band is silver-gilt, $\frac{13}{16}$ inch deep outside, continued inside to form a lining to the bowl, and inscribed—

+ EVERERD § FRERE[a] § GAVE § THIS § MASER § GARNISHT
⁝T⁝ 13 ⁝ONCES C ⁝O⁝ 1579 E
§ W § SILVER § W § WAS § NEW § GARNISHED § AN § FOR § Y §
R
POOR § ROGER § TINDEL ⚘ M ⚘ R ⚘ LOKSON ⚘ I ⚘ PASFILD ⚘
⁝ THE ⁝ KING ⁝
WARDENS ⚘ FEARE § GOD § AND § HONOVR

Inside the bowl are three subjects with intermediate scrolls.

The first is a spirited representation of St. George and the Dragon. From the saint's mouth issues a scroll inscribed : PVT : ON : ALL : THE : ARMOR : OF ⁘ GOD :

Then come two scrolls, one over the other, severally inscribed SOLI ⁝ DEO HONOR ET ⁝ GLORIA and THE ⁝ GIRDEL ⁝ OF ⁝⁝ TRVTHE

[a] Everard Frere was Master of the Company, 1460-83.

The second subject is a shield bearing on a chevron a clenched gauntlet between two pairs of swords in saltire, and on a chief a plain cross on a roundel, between two helmets close; surmounted by a helm with elaborate mantling, and the crest—a demi-man in armour holding a dagger. Above is the motto MAKE ⁝ ALL ⁝ SVRE.

Two more scrolls follow, severally inscribed THE ⁝ SWORD ⁝ OF ⁝ THE ⁝ SPIRIT and ⁝ THE ⁝ SHEELD ⁝ OF ⁝⁝ FAITH.

The third subject is a St. George's cross within a wreath of ribbons, followed by two more scrolls inscribed TH̄E ⁝ BRESTE ⁝ PLATE ⁝ OF ⁝ RIGHT-EOVSNES and TH̄E ⁝ HAVLMET ⁝ OF ⁝ SALVATION, and outside this last scroll ·⁝· EPHE ·⁝· VI ·⁝·

In the bottom is the print of the original mazer, a plainly molded boss with a rayed fringe $3\frac{9}{16}$ inches in diameter. The engraved or enamelled plate at the top has been lost, and replaced by a plain piece of metal.

The lining bears the following hall-marks:

(1.) The maker's, G surmounted by P, in a shaped shield;
(2.) The leopard's head crowned;
(3.) The lion passant gardant;
(4.) A Roman capital A in a plain shield, being the London date-letter for 1578-9.

The foot is a splendid piece of Elizabethan work. It consists of three rich bands rising from a nearly flat plate, inscribed:

⁜ I ◊ FOSTER ◊ W ◊ WILLIAMSON ◊ R ◊
SHOWIN ◊ WARDENS ◊ OF ◊ TH̄E ◊ YEMANRIE

The band and foot are connected by four fine straps, engraved with arabesque foliage, etc., and severally inscribed ECCE QVAM BONVM, ET ◊ QVAM ◊ IOCVN-DVM, HABITARE, FRATRES ◊ IN ◊ VNVM Psalm cxxxiii.

Both straps and foot bear the same hall-marks as the band and lining.

The history of this mazer is as follows:—It was given to the Company by Everard Frere, while Master, sometime between 1460 and 1483, but, perhaps on account of an injury, was "new garnished" in 1579, by lining it with metal and adding a foot and connecting straps. The old band was replaced by a new one forming an edge to the lining, which cost 12*l.* 4*s.* 4*d.* Owing to the recent substitution of a new bowl for the original, the only part remaining of Everard Frere's mazer is the mutilated print.

41. Rev. H. F. St. John.

Diameter, 7 inches; depth, $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches; height, $4\frac{7}{16}$ inches; diameter of foot, $3\frac{15}{16}$ inches.

This is a remarkable fine specimen of a late mazer with some curious features.

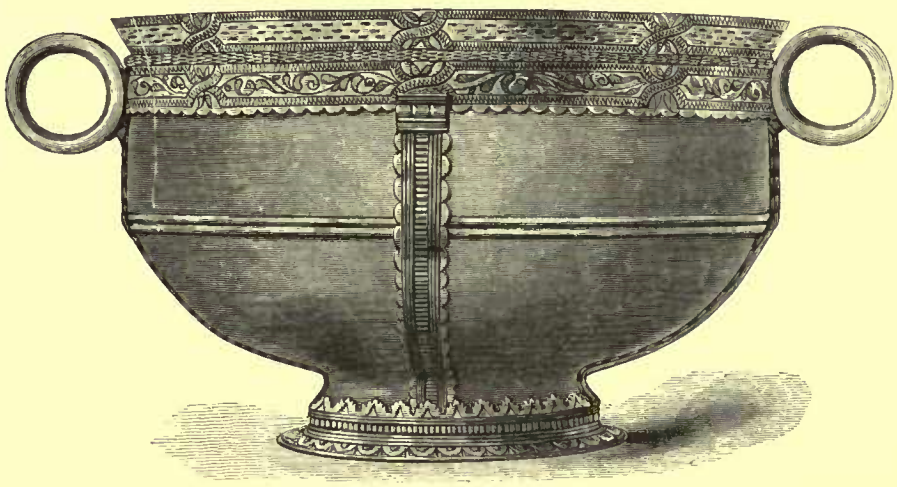


Fig. 22. Mazer (1585-6) in the possession of the Rev. H. F. St. John (half size).

The bowl is of maple and of considerable thickness, with a real foot of its own. The upper part is vertical, with a simple double molding about 2 inches below the lip, where the under curved portion begins.

The band is of silver, 1 inch deep inside and outside. The inside is plain, but the outside is richly ornamented in a style quite different from what is usually found on mazers, but yet in a manner characteristic of its date. This is effected by dividing it longitudinally by a twisted cable, with a series of Elizabethan interlacing straps above and below, similar to those seen on church-plate. The upper strap has the loops filled with triple rows of hyphens, the lower with the woodbine pattern. On each side of the mazer is a substantial silver ring handle $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter affixed to the band.

The wooden foot is garnished with a silver mount. This consists of a flat ring with the egg-and-tongue pattern, above which is a vertical reeded portion with a cresting of triple-tongued pieces bent over on to the foot. The band and foot are connected by four reeded straps, half an inch wide, with invected edges. It would be interesting to ascertain the meaning of these straps. They certainly

are not necessary constructively, and they do not occur on earlier mazers. They may be derived from the mounting of the more fragile cups so common in Elizabethan days, formed out of cocoanut shells or ostrich eggs.

Both the band and foot of this mazer are hall-marked:

(1.) The maker's mark, a nondescript fleur-de-lis formed of dots and drops;
(2.) The leopard's head crowned;
(3.) The lion passant gardant;
(4.) A Roman capital H in a plain shield, the London date-letter for 1585-6.

Fig. 23. Print of a mazer (1585-6) in the possession of Rev. H. F. St. John (full size).

The print (fig. 23) is a plain silver boss with an encircling cable, enclosing the following armorial bearings within an engraved circle:

(Arg.) fretty (az.) and on a canton (or) a lion rampant (sa.) with a mullet for difference in the fess point; surmounted by a squire's helmet and mantling, with a cock (or), wattled (gu.), for a crest.

These are the arms and crest of the family of Cotes of Aylestone, co. Leic,[a] but it is uncertain to whom this mazer belonged. It subsequently became the property of Dr. Stukeley, from whom it descended to its present owner.

42. H. Syer Cuming, Esq.

Diameter, $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches; depth, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches; height, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches; diameter of foot, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

This is a perfectly plain standing mazer of maple-wood, in the form of a cup on a short foot. It had a narrow silver band with scalloped edge, now lost, but no print.

It is an interesting example of a late survival of the favourite maple-wood drinking bowls.

Date, *circa* 1600.[b]

[a] See Nichols's *History of Leicestershire*, iv. 35.

[b] See *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, xi. 355.

43, 44, and 45. St. Nicholas Hospital, Harbledown, Kent.

In addition to the four mazers already described there are preserved at this hospital three other bowls of maple-wood.

Their dimensions are:

(1.) Diameter, $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches; depth, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches.
(2.) „ 7 inches; „ $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches.
(3.) „ $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches; „ $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch.

They are perfectly plain bowls without bands or prints, or any marks of them.

In the absence of metal-work or other distinctive ornament, it is difficult to assign a date to these bowls; their shallowness is indicative of an early rather than a late date, and they may be as old as the fourteenth century.

P.S.—Since the above was in type another mazer has come to light.

46. Jeffery Whitehead, Esq.

Diameter, $8\frac{1}{8}$ inches; depth, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

The bowl of this fine mazer is, as usual, of maple-wood, but much worm-eaten, though otherwise perfect.

The band is of silver-gilt, $1\frac{1}{16}$ inch deep outside and $1\frac{5}{8}$ inch within. It has the usual late belts above and below, studded with groups of five pellets, with a rayed and scallopped fringe, but is otherwise plain.

The print is a silver-gilt ring, $1\frac{3}{16}$ inch in diameter, with molded edge, enclosing a silver plate, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter, engraved with the figure of Our Lady and Child. The Blessed Virgin is represented crowned, and sitting on a seat with buttressed side-shafts. The field is engraved with branched work, originally covered with translucent enamel, though no traces now remain.

The date of this mazer is probably *circa* 1510. It was recently purchased in Hull, and belonged to a Mrs. Lambert, a descendant of Cromwell's general of that name. It came into the Lambert family through a marriage with a Fearon.

There is an early fifteenth century mazer with English inscription on the band, and an ornate Elizabethan foot, in the possession of the Hon. Mrs. Meynell Ingram, but I have not been able to examine it.

APPENDIX.

1295. London, St. Paul's cathedral church.[a]

ciphus de mazero qui fuit S. Erkenwaldi. (Bp. of London 675—*circa* 685.)
ciphus de Aunserne magnus de mazero, cum basso pede et circulo argenteo.
cupa magna de mazero, ornata pede alto duobus circulis et pomellis argenteis deauratis de dono Hervei de Borham Decani (1274-6).

1299. Wardrobe accounts of Edward I.

unus mazerus cum coop' cum pede et pomello argenti.

1311. Finchale priory, Durham.[b]

j mazer cum pede argenteo.

1315. Canterbury, Christchurch priory.[c]

Cuppe de Murro.

Cuppa Sancti Thome. intra argent' et deaur' cum pede operato.
It' cuppa sine pede intra argent' et deauř. cum cristallo super pomellum.
It' Cooperculum Cuppe argent' et deauř. cum pomell argent' et deauř.
It' vetus Ciphus de murro fractus et correptus cum curto pede argent'.
It'. ij. Ciphi parvi de murro veteres sine pedibus circulis et castonibus.

1322. Inventory of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex.[d]

j mazer blaunk ove la covercle.

1328. Vasa argent' in Refectorio Ecclesie Christi Cantuariensis tempore Henrici prioris et Rogeri de Holyngbourne Refectorarii in festo sancti Michaelis anno domini Millesimo. ccc^mo^ xxviij^mo^.

Cuppe de Murra.

Cuppa Huberti archiepiscopi.[e]
Cuppa arnaldi.
Cuppa W. de Knoltoñ.
Cuppa Thome de sancto Waler cum magnis gemmis.

[a] Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's.* Ed. London. 1818, p. 315.
[b] Surtees Soc. vi. Appendix, p. iv.
[c] *Cott. MS.* Galba E. iv. f 120 b.
[d] *Arch. Jour.* ii. 348.
[e] 1200—1205.

Cuppa de camera prioris cum parvis gemmis.
Cuppa que dicitur bẏgge.
Cuppa Wyberti prioris.[a]
Cuppe due cum uno cooperculo que vocantur angli.
Cuppa Simonis de Worthe.
Cuppa Nicholai de Bourne de nuce cum pede et cooperculo argent̃. deaurato et amalato.

Ciphi de murra cum pedibus.

Ciphus magnus cum pede et circulo integro.
C. R. de Kenyntoñ cum pede et circulo et ymagine beate Marie in fundo.
C. cum pede et circulo et duabus splentis.
C. R. Brian senioris cum pede et castone.
C. cum pede et duabus splentis.
C. cum pede et circulo et tribus platis in fundo.
C. Hillar̃ cum pede et leone extra.
C. cum pede . circulo et gemma in fundo.
C. duo cum ped' et circul̃ . S. duccettes.
C. Samuel̃ cum pede et circulo.
C. Dionis̃ cum pede circulo et castone.
C. Rogeri de Icham cum pede . et circulo.
C. R. prioris Dovor̃[b] cum pede et circulo et fundo arg̃.
C. Alexandri cum pede et . xij . splentis.
C. R. de Coptoñ cum pede . circulo et castone.
C. R. prioris magnus cum pede . circulo capite et pisce deaurato.
C. cum pede et circulo . S. Scallard.
C. qui dicitur Salamon cum . pede . circulo et leone in fundo.
C. Willelmi fferebras cum pede . et circulo.
C. Ricardi de Berkesore cum pede et circulo.
C. Radulfi de Wateuyle cum pede et castone.
C. Willelmi de Dovor̃ cum . pede . et circulo.
C. cum pede . et circulo . et una plata cum rege et falcone in fundo.
C. cum pede . circulo . plata deaurata . scuto et leone in fundo.
C. R. prioris de la Lee[c] . cum pede circulo et castone et parvo scuto intus et extra.
C. W. de Hardres cum . pede . circulo et castone.
C. H. de Burgate cum. pede . et circulo.
C. W. de Wenchepe . cum pede . circulo et castone.
C. Thome de sancto Walerico cum . pede . et circulo.

[a] 1153—1167.
[b] Probably Richard de Wenchepe, 1268—1272, formerly sacrist of Canterbury.
[c] Roger de la Lee, prior, 1234—1244.

C. Rogeri de ffrenyngham cum . pede . et circulo.
C. Matthei de Pynkeney cum pede circulo et castone.
C. Thome de Wynchelse cum . pede . circulo et castone.
C. Thome de Newesole cum . pede . et circulo.
C. Gauter de Bourne cum circulo et pede curto.
Nux . Martini de Clyve cum pede . et circulo.
C. Daniel' de Sufflatoñ cum pede et castone et circulo.
C. eiusdem cum . pede . deaurato tornatili sine circulo.
C. S. de Icham . magnus cum pede et circulo.
C. R. de Londoñ cum . pede . et circulo et gemmis in fundo.
Nux Hamonis de Boclonde cum gemmis . pede . et circulo.
C W. de Tyerne cum . pede . circulo et castone.
C. J. de . Dockyngg . cum . pede . et circulo.
Nux Ade prioris[a] cum pede . et circulo.
C. N. de Sandwic̃[b] . prioris . cum . pede . circulo et castone.
C. W. de Berkyng Junioris cum . pede . et circulo.
Nux eiusdem cum . pede . et circulo.
Nux Lamberti de Clyve cum . pede . et circulo.
C. ejusdem cum pede et circulo.
C. Anselmi de Estria cum . pede et circulo et rotunda plata in fundo.
C. J. de . Estria cum . pede . et circulo.
C. Petri de Icham cum pede . castone et circulo in fundo.
Nux eiusdem cum . pede circulo et castone.
Nux Willelmi de Cherryngg intus arg' cum . pede . et circulo.
C. Randulfi de Priteswelle cum pede et deaurato circulo.
C. eiusdem cum . pede . circulo et . iiij . gemmis in pede.
Nux . Roberti de Elham cum pede.
C. eiusdem cum pede deaurato.
C. eiusdem cum circulo et pede . deaurato.
C. R. de Wrotham cum circulo et pede curto.
C. W. de . Bourne cum pede . circulo et castone.
C. magistri . R . de . Watlyntoñ cum pede et circulo.
C. G. de Chileham cum . pede . circulo et castone.
C. Marcelli de la Lese cum pede . et castone deauř.
C. Ricardi . Pykenot de plano cum . pede . castone et circulo.
C. eiusdem de plano cum circulo et pede curto . cum . j . splenta deaurata.
C. J. de Welles cnm . pede . circulo et castone.
C. ejusdem cum pede tornatili deaurato . cum circulo et castone et rotunda plata in fundo.

[a] Adam de Chillenden, 1263—1274.
[b] Prior, 1244—1258.

C. R. Poucyn cum circulo et castone et pede tornatili deaurato . pes ponderis . xv . s.
C. S. de . sancto paulo cum . pede . tornatili deaurato et circulo et castone.
C. de murra . S. de ffaversham cum pede . circulo et castone.
Nux eiusdem cum . pede . deaurato et diversis scutis amallatis.

Ciphi de Murra sine pedibus.

C. magnus . sine pede . cum castone barr' et splent'
C. cum rosa in fundo . qui dicitur Broke.
C. magnus sancti Thome cum circulo.
C. magnus cum tribus splentis deauratis et barr̃.
C. magnus cum quinque splentis.
C. magnus cum duabꝫ splentis una deaurata alia non.
C. magnus cum novo fundo et circulo.
C. magnus cum tribus splentis et capite in fundo.
C. magnus cum . ij . splentis una operata et alia non.
C. cum . iiij . splentis non deauratis.
C. cum quinque splentis et una plata non deaurata.
C. cum plata rotunda in fundo intus deaurata et extra non.
C. magnus qui vocatur austỳn.
C. cum filo argent̃ ligatus.
C. cum stella in fundo.
C. cum magna plata . et . iiij ^{or} . minoribꝫ.
C. parvus cum besanto . et circulo.
C. parvus . qui dicitur pỳlegrỳm.
C. magnus cum circulo et plata rotunda in fundo.
C. Simonis de Eynesford' cum leone in fundo.
C. Thome de Westgate cum circulo et . ij . splentis et gemma.
C. magnus . R. de Wormedale cum circulo.
C. Elye de Thaneto.
C. hamonis cum circulo et . iij . platis deauratis et barr̃.
C. Jordani cum circulo et castone in fundo arg̃ cum cruce intus et extra.
C. R. de ffaversham cum circulo et gemma in fundo.
C. Elie Thes' cum circulo et fundo arg̃.
C. Silvestri cum circulo et plata rotunda et barr̃.
C. R. de . Orpyntoñ cum circulo et castone.
C. qui dicitur Hare.
C. qui dicitur Denys cum circulo.
C. qui dicitur Lorechon.
C. qui dicitur Crondale cum circulo in fundo.
C. duo . qui dicuntur . Knoltoñ cum circul'.
C. qui dicitur Salamon sine pede cornu.

C. W. de . Hardres sine pede cum circulo et castone.
C. J. de . Wakkyngg . sine pede . cum circulo.
C. eiusdem sine pede . cum circulo et scuto.
C. W. de Wenchepe sine . pede . cum circulo.
C. Rogeri de ffrenyngham sine . pede . cum circulo.
C. Jeremie cum circulo et castone.
C. magnus . J. de . Thaneto cum circulo et castone et gemma in fundo.
C. G. de Romenal sine pede . cum circulo et castone.
C. R. de Mallyngg cum circulo et castone et splenta in fundo.
C. S. de Icham sine . pede . cum circulo et castone.
C. eiusdem sine pede . cum circulo et plata deaurata intus et extra.
C. Thome de Sellyng sine . pede . cum scuto in fundo circulo et castone.
C. eiusdem sine pede cum barr̃.
C. R. brian parvus cum Castone.
C. L. de sancto Augustino sine . pede . cum circulo.
C. J. de Bocton sine pede . cum circulo et plata rotunda deaurata.
C. W. de Berkyngg senioris cum splenta in fundo.
C. Lamberti de Clyve sine . pede . cum circulo et castone.
C. R. de Wynchepe sine pede cum circulo et filo aur̃.
C. W. de Thaneto sine . pede . cum circulo . castone . et . iiij . platis.
C. Thome de Leycestre sine . pede . cum circulo.
C. J. de Estria sine pede . cum circulo et castone et . ij . splentis deauratis.
C. W. de . Gerenhulle sine . pede . cum circulo et castone.
C. eiusdem cum circulo et castone.
C. eiusdem sine . pede . cum circulo.
C. J. de . Hertlepe magnus cum circulo.
C. magnus Petri de Icham sine pede . cum circulo et castone et ew^{a}nḡ in fundo
C. euisdem sine pede . cum circulo et castone.
C. Willelmi vynche cum circulo et splenr̃.
C. Randulfi de Priteswelle sine . pede . cum circulo et castone.
C. Radulfi de Apuldre sine pede.
C. R. de Wrotham sine pede . cum castone et apro infra deaurato.
C. J. de Londoñ cum castone.
C. eiusdem cum barr̃.
C. R. de Adesham cum circulo et castone.
C. W. de Chylyndenne cum circulo et una plata deaurata intus et extra.
C. eiusdem cum circulo et . iiij . platis deauratis intus et extra.
C. J. de Lyndestede . sine pede . cum castone.
C. Luc̃ de Osprenge cum circulo et castone.
C. Marcelli cum circulo sine castone.
C. eiusdem cum circulo sine castone.

C. W. de Codelowe cum circulo . castone . et . iij . platis.
C. eiusdem cum circulo tantum.
C. eiusdem sine pede . cum circulo tantum.
C. eiusdem sine circulo et castone.
C. S. de Wortle cum circulo.
C. Alexandri de Sandwic̃ cum castone sine circulo.
C. eiusdem sine castone et sine circulo.
C. S. de Sancto Paulo cum circulo et castone deauř.
C. eiusdem cum circulo et castone deauř.
C. de murra . R . de Clyve cum circulo et castone.
C. eiusdem cum circulo sine castone.
C. eiusdem . sine circulo et sine castone.
C. parvus . S. de ffaversham cum circulo castone et plata rotunda deaur' cum vinea et torculari in fundo.
C. magnus . J. de . Gore cum circulo et castone deauř . et stella in fundo.
C. tres eiusdem unius forme cum circulis deauratis.
C. W. de Ledebuř magnus cum circulo et castone deauř.
Item . C. eiusdem minor cum circulo et castone deauř.
Item . C. eiusdem cum circulo deaurato.
C. J. Everard . cum circulo et castone deauř.
Item . C. eiusdem minor cum circulo et castone deauř.
C. N. de . Bourne sine pede . cum circulo et castone deauř.
C. eiusdem minor cum circulo et castone deauř.
C. eiusdem novus cum . ij . splentis . sine circulo et castone.

Ciphi W. de Northwico de murra.

Ciphus eiusdem de murra cum castone et circulo deauraī et plata rotunda in fundo.
Iī . C. eiusdem cum circulo et magna plata deaurata.
Iī . C. eiusdem sine circulo et castone.

Ciphi Johannis de Winchelese.[a]

C. j . de murra major sine circulo et castone.
Iī . C. eiusdem minor sine circulo et castone.
Iī . C. eiusdem minimus sine circulo et castone.[b]

c. 1333 and c. 1361. Vicars' College, Wells.[c]

Johannes Hywysch (Canon *circa* 1333), "contulit vicariis unum mazerum cum diversis Lapidibus ornatum pulcherrime, cum Cooperculo Argenteo deaurato."

[a] An interesting *set*.

[b] From *Memoriale sive registrum Henrici Prioris Monasterii Cantuariensis. MS. Cott.* Galba E. iv. ff. 178—180.

[c] *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxviii. 277-278.

Johannes Lumbard Canonicus (*c.* 1361), legavit vicarijs unum pulchrum mazerum in quo scribitur Let ye Wynd blowe.

1337–38. In the Royal Treasury.[a]

Un maser dont le covercle debruse et la pie d arg̃ dorre pois xvij s. pris j. m^{a}r'.

Ciphus antiquus de mazero cum pede argenteo.

unus parvus ciphus de mazero cum tripode arg̃ loco pedis.

1339–40. In the Royal Treasury.[b]

Un mazer ove le pee dargent et un piler en founz du pris x. s̃.

1348. Will of Isabella, wife of Sir W. Fitzwilliam.[c]

unum mazerum cum pede argenti.

1352. Goods of Robert de Guienne, of Bristol, merchant.[d]

unum ciphum de mazero ligatum argento deaurato precij sex solidorum et octo denariorum.

unum longum pedem pro mazero de argento ponderis quatuordecim solidorum.

1355. Will of Lady Elizabeth de Burgh, lady Clare.[e]

I maser ove covercle hernoise d'argent surorre et Kernelle.

1358. Will of Thomas de la Mare, canon of York.[f]

meliorem parvum murreum.

1359. Will of Agnes de Selby.[g]

unum ciphum murreum cum quadam ymagine de Trinitate depictâ in fundo.

1365. Will of Henry de Blythe, citizen and painter of York.[h]

unum ciphum de murro cum uno frounce.

meliorem ciphum de murro vocatum knopmazer.

unum ciphum de murro sive (*sic*) frounce album.

1366. Will of William de Neuport, rector of Wearmouth.[i]

j mazereum cum cooperculo argenteo.

unum parvum mazareum cum cooperculo de mazar quod habui de executoribus domine Marie de Percy.

1390. Will of John Carlele, of York.[k]

unum ciphum nigrum mirreum.

[a] Palgrave, *Antient Kalendars and Inventories*, iii. 172, 192.

[b] *Ant. Kal. and Inv.* iii. 201.

[c] *Test. Ebor.* i. (Surtees Soc. iv.) 50.

[d] *Ant. Kal. and Inv.* iii. 213.

[e] Nichols, *Royal Wills*, 45.

[f] *Test. Ebor.* i. 69.

[g] *Ib.* i. 71.

[h] *Ib.* i. 75, 76.

[i] *Ib.* i. 81.

[k] *Ib.* i. 141.

1391. Will of Margery, relict of Sir William de Aldeburgh, knt.[a]

unum ciphum murreum, ligatum cum ligamine deaurato.

Item unum alium parvum mirrum cum operculo de mirro ornato et deaurato.

1391. Will of Robert Savage, citizen and merchant of York.[b]

cupam meam de murro cum pede argenti in le fronse in fundo cupæ, ac cooperculo ejusdem de argento et aurato.

1392. Will of Richard earl of Arundel.[c]

un maser covere et frettez d'or.

1392. Will of John de Clyfford, treasurer of York.[d]

unum ciphum murreum, parvum, coopertum cum murr.

unum ciphum murreum cum pede cum cooperturâ argenti et armis in profundo.

unum ciphum murreum coopertum de melioribus.

1392. Will of Matilda, wife of William Benetson, marshall.[e]

Unum parvum ciphum murreum cum ligaturâ latâ argenteâ ligatum.

1392. Will of Richard de Dalton, barber, of York.[f]

j murram parvam et nigram.

1393. Will of John Fayrfax, rector of Prestcote.[g]

unum ciphum de mazer cum cooperturâ et pede argenti deaurati eidem, signatum cum diversis litteris de bees [B].

j mazer cum coopertura argenti deaurati.

1395. Will and Inventory of John de Scardeburgh, rector of Tichmarsh.[h]

unum ciphum murr' bene ornatum, cum cooperculo de murro conformiter ornato, et in summitate operculi duplex W.

j ciphum murreum cum dracone in fundo.

unus ciphus murrius cum operculo murrio, legatus Johannæ de Welton.

Ciphus murrius cum pede et rosa in fundo, pret. ix s., vend. pro x s.

Ciphus murrius ligatus, cum tenea Flandrensi, pret. vij s., vend. sic.

Ciphus murrius ligatus, cum leone nigro in fundo, legatus Aliciae Polles, sol.

Ciphus murrius, ligatus, fractus, cum folio columbino in fundo, pret. vj s., vend. sic.

Ciphus murrius niger, ligatus, pret. viij s., vend. sic. . .

Ciphus ligatus, cum Salutatione in fundo, pret. iiij s., non vend.

Ciphus ligatus cum foramine in fundo, pret. iiij s. vj d., vend. pro v s.

Unus godet de murro cum operculo murrio, pret. ij s., vend. pro iij s.

unum operculum ligninum cum floribus et nodo argent', pret. viij d., vend. sic.

[a] *Test. Ebor.* i. 150.
[b] *Ib.* i. 157.
[c] Nichols, *Royal Wills*, 142.
[d] *Test. Ebor.* i. 168, 170.
[e] *Ib.* i. 181.
[f] *Ib.* i. 184.
[g] *Ib.* i. 188, 189.
[h] *Ib.* iii. 1, 2, 3.

1396. Will of Walter de Brugge, canon of York.[a]

Unum mazerum, quem nuper emi de executoribus Domini Johannis de Bysshopeston, cum uno cooperculo argenteo deaurato ligato, in summitate ejusdem scriptum :

HO SO YS LENGYST A LYUE
TAK THIS COPE WITH OWTYN STRYFE.

Unum parvum mazerum cum cooperculo argenteo deaurato ligato cum uno volucri in summitate dicti cooperculi.

1396. Meaux Abbey, Yorks.[b]

Murrae duae furruratae cum argento cum pedibus argenteis ad easdam.
Ciphi murrei quinque, cum ligaturis argenteis et deauratis.

1399. In the Royal Treasury.[c]

Item j hanap̃ de maser ove le covercle de mesme le suite a guyse d almoyne garnis̃ d arg̃ et ennorrez et enaymeł sr les sometz ove roses. pris vi. s̃. viii đ.

1399. Royal Treasury of Henry IV.[d]

Item j. autre petit hanap̃ de maser ove le covercle a guyse d un pot steant sr iij. peez et garnis d arg̃ et ennorrez pris vi. s̃. viii. đ.

Itm i. mazer fieble sanz covercle garnis̃ d arg̃ et ennorrez et gravez ove foiłł. pris vi. s̃. viii đ.

Itm i. maser frette d or dehors pris x. li.

Item i. mazer liez d'arg̃ steant sr un pee ove le covercle d arg̃ endorrez ove trois damoysels deinz la founce pois̃ ii. łb.

Item j. covercle pr un grant mazer endorrez ove un leoñ sr le pomeł. pois x. łb vii. unc̃.

Item j. large maser cont' iij galons liez enviroñ d arg̃ endorrez embossez en le founce
Item i. grant pee endorrez pr la dc̃e maser
} pois̃ xiiii łb iii unc̃.

Item j. large maser coverez garnisez d arg̃ endorrez ove un haute pee enorrez ove les armes le Roi *E.* en le founce ove iij Roys de *Coleyn* aymellez amont pois ij lb x unc̃.

Itm un cooptre d un maser d arg̃ enorrez ove un haut pee et un bende pr j masser pois ii łb ii unc̃.

Itm j maser tour de nutte garnisez d argent enorrez et cov'ez.

Item j. petit maser garnisez d'arg̃ enorrez ove j. cerf amont.

1400. Will of Sir Thomas Ughtred, knt.[e]

unum mazre coopertum, ligatum cum argento et deauratum, cum pede argenti, et in fundamento duo schochins, unum de armis de Ughtred, et alterum de armis de Mawley.

[a] *Test. Ebor.* i. 209, 210.
[b] *Chronica de Melsa* (Rolls Series), iii. lxxviij.
[c] *Antient Kal. and Inv.* iii. 334.
[d] *Ib.* iii. 334, 342, 352, 355, 356.
[e] *Test. Ebor.* i. 244.

1400. Will of John Preston sen., of York, 'buclermaker.'[a]

duos ciphos de murro unum ligatum et alium non ligatum.
meum magnum ciphum de murro.
j. ciphum de murro cum j leapardo in profundo ejusdem.

1400. Will of Richard Le Scrop, lord of Bolton.[b]

unum maser vocatum Spang.
meliorem ciphum meum de murreo, scilicet maser.

1402. Inventory of the cathedral church of St. Paul, London.[c]

Item unus Ciphus de Masero dupplicatus interius cum argento cum uno pede argenteo et uno monili Majestatis in profundo deaurato.

c. 1407. Will of Walter de Skirlaw, bishop of Durham.[d]

Item̃ unus ciphus maser, stans super pedem argenti deauratum, mobilem, portatum super tres leones, cum bordurâ argenti deauratâ et ymagine sancti Johannis Baptistae in fundo, cooperculum borduratum de aquilis argenti deauratis, et pomellum amellatum de azuro cum j chapelletto viridi et iiij rosis albis, ponderis. . . *Detur Stephano Patrington.*

1410. Inventory of William de Kexby, precentor of York.[e]

De xv s. de una maser, nova.
De xiij s. iiij d. de una maser.
De viij s. de duabus masers veteribus.

1414. Will of John de Newton, treasurer of York.[f]

unum ciphum murreum cum pede et cooperculo deauratis.
Unum ciphum de murro cum pede deaurato.

1415. Will of Henry, lord Scrope of Masham.[g]

unum Maserium coopertum cum pede et borduris argenteis et deauratum et blodio pomel in summitate.

1415. Will of Isabella, widow of Edmund de Willoughby.[h]

unum mazer cum coopertorio, de auro.

1418. Will of Agnes Stubbard de Bury.[i]

j. antiquam murram.
j. parvam murram.

[a] *Test. Ebor.* i. 270.
[b] *Ib.* i. 275, 276.
[c] MS. *penes* Dec. et Cap.
[d] *Ib.* i. 318.
[e] *Ib.* iii. 44.
[f] *Ib.* i. 367.
[g] *Rymer's Foedera*, ix. 276.
[h] *Ib.* i. 382.
[i] *Bury Wills and Inventories*, 3.

1422. Plate in the Royal Treasury, late King Henry V.'s.[a]

1 Maser garniz d'or, de vj Bal', iiij Saph' pris x ℔.—et de xxx Perles pris le pec' vj s. viij d. x ℔. pois' de Troie iiij ℔ xj unc', dount abatuz pur la Maser, et les Perles et Peres, v unc'; et si remaint liiij unc', pris l'unce xxi s. viij d. lviij ℔. x s. —en tout lxxviij ℔. x s.

Les biens de S'r l'Escrop en la gard' du d'Garderober.

1 Maser esteant sur iiii Angelx garniz d'arg' dorrez. pris xxxvij s.

1 autre Maser ovec l'armes d'Escrop en le founce. garniz d'arg dorrez, pris xxvj s. viij d.

1 autre Maser, garniz d'arg dorrez, pris xiij s. iiij d.

1 autre Maser, garniz d'arg dorrez, pris x s.

1423. Inventory of Robert de Wyclyff, rector of Rudby.[b]

j murreus argentatus et deauratus coopertus, cum ligacione batilde desursum, et in summitate anulatus, stans super tres leopardos.

1433. Will of Margaret, relict of Nicholas Blakburn, citizen and merchant of York.[c]

Unum maser flat cum singula liga argenti deauratum.

Unum maser cum ymagine Sanctæ Katerinæ vocata Fronnce in fundo.

1436. Will of John Nawton, esq.[d]

unam murram, quæ vocatur cossyn.

1437. Will of John Notyngham of Bury, grocer.[e]

j. ciphum murr.

1437. Battle Abbey, Sussex. Plate in the Frater.[f]

iiij cuppe de murra cum coopereulo argenteo et deaurato.

j parva cuppa de murra cum coopereulo argenti et ligata.

vj magni ciphi Haraldi de murra unde duo ligantur bene cum argento et deaurato et in fundo scutum de armis J Gaynesford et in fundo alterius ymago Sancte Marie sub cuius pede scribitur Ricardus Bryd.

j magnus ciphus de murra qui vocatur fenix.

xx^{ti} ciphi de murra non ligati.

1439. Regalia, etc. of Henry VI.[g]

A standyng maser of silver and gilt uncovered w^{t} þarmes of *Englond* and *F^{a}unce* and w^{t} a poyse write *Good Edward* weyng xxi unces. p^{is} þe unce iii s. iiij d. Sm^{a} lxx. s̄.

Also anoþer standyng maser upon a light fote þeheryd weyng xv unces & iii q^{a}t$\bar{r}$ pris ye unce ij s. vj d. Sm^{a} xxxix s. iiij d.

Also ij litil masers called *Godardes* covered and anoþer litil maser uncoverd weyng to gydre ij ℔. i. unce & d$\bar{i}$ p^{is} þe unce ii s. vj d. Sm^{a} lxiij s. ix d.

[a] *Rolls of the Parl.* iv. 216, 224.
[b] *Test. Ebor.* i. 404.
[c] *Ib.* ii. 48.
[d] *Ib.* ii. 58.
[e] *Bury Wills and Inventories*, 9.
[f] *Arch. Jour.* xli. 88.
[g] *Antient Kal. and Inv.* ii. 251.

1441. Will of William Conesby of York, carpenter.[a]
unum maserband.

1442. Will of Alexander Blenkensop, esq.[b]
unum standing maser ligatum cum argento.

1442. Gild of the Holy Trinity, Coventry.[c]
a maser with An ymage of owre lady in the prynte weyeth vj unce & j quarter.
a grete maser with a vise weyth viij unce & di.
a maser with a vernycle weyeth viij unce & j quarter.
an olde maser that weyeth iij unce & di.
a maser with a ihc that weyeth iiij unce iij qnarters save a farþyng weight.

1443. Will of Robert Esyngwald, proctor general of the Court of York.[d]
Et Priori ac Conventui Sanctæ Trinitatis Ebor. j magnum ciphum murreum.

1443. Will of Sir Hugh Willoughby, knt.[e]
a maser with a bande of guldc.

1446. Durham Priory. Plate in the Frater.[f]
j Murra cum pede deaurato vocata Merdewyke cum cooperculo.
alia Murra larga et magna vocata Abell sine cooperculo.
una alia Murra pro alta mensa in Refectorio, cum cooperculo.
unus Ciphus vocatus Beda.
xij Murrae magnae et largae cum uno cooperculo ; quorum iij cum pedibus.
xxxiij Murrae usuales, et una Nux cum ij cooperculis.

1447. Will of Thomas Wymbyssch of Rochester.
unum ciphum vocatum a masour cum uno ligamento argenti deaurati cum magno borcello in medio.

1448. Will of Thomas Morton, canon of York.[g]
meam parvam murram coopertam cum parvo pede stante super tres leones cum coopertorio deaurato scripto in capite *Marca*.

1448. Inventory of Thomas Morton, canon of York.[h]
De j murra cooperta, deaurata, cum signis in capite, pond. xlix s. iiij d.
De j murra cooperta, ligata, cum coopertorio, stante, pond. xvij unc. et di. xl s.
De j magna murra pond. ix. unc. xxxiij s. iiij d.
De j murra cooperta, stante super leones, cum ratione in coopertorio, pond xiij unc. xxvij s. vj d.
De j parva murra, sine coopertorio, pond. vij unc. xij s.

[a] *Test. Ebor.* ii. 81.
[b] *Ib.* ii. 85.
[c] *Proc. S. A.* 2d S. v. 122, 123.
[d] *Test. Ebor.* ii 91.
[e] *Ib.* ii. 131.
[f] Surtees Soc. ii 94
[g] *Test. Ebor.* iii. 107.
[h] *Ib.* iii. 113.

1448. Inventory of Robert Morton, gent.[a]

Item, vij lytell masers with duble bondes, *pond.* xlj *unc. di.* at 2s. 4d., iiij *li.* xvj *s.* x *d.*

Item v masers with sengyll bondes, and an olde blak nutte with a cover, with iij knoppys for couerynges of masers, *pond.* xliiij *unc.* at 2s. 2d., iiij *li*, xv *s.* iiij *d.*

1452. Will and Inventory of William Duffield, canon of York, Southwell, and Beverley.[b]

meam optimam murram, alte stantem, cum tribus leonibus in pede depictis, cum cooperculo ejusdem.

ciphum murreum cum columba in fundo depicta.

De lv s. de pret. j murræ stantis, cum cooperculo, et dracone in summitate cooperculi, pond. de troy, ij lb. iij unc. di. unc. pret. unc. ij s.

De xxxij s. viij d. de pret. j. murræ altæ, stantis, cum longo pede argenteo, cum j knop rotundo, pond. de troy xiiij unc. pret. unc. ij s. iiij d.

De xiij s. iiij d. de pret. j murræ bassæ, cum columba in medio fundi, deaurat., pond. vj unc. di. unc.

De xvij s. vj d. de pret. j murræ bassæ, nuper domini Walteri Erythornes, pond. vij unc. di. unc. pret. unc. ij s. iiij d.

De xxxvj s. ij d. de pret. j parvæ murræ coopertæ, cum leone in summitate cooperculi, emptæ de domino Thoma Skelton, pond. de troy xv unc. di. unc. pret. unc ij s. iiij d.

1454. Gild of St. Francis, Lynn.[c]

a Maser with a prynt of seynt Johns hede in the bothome, with a cover to ye same, written with

Soft words swageth ye fyre (?)
Suffyr and have thi desyre.

1454. Will of Robert Low, of Newark.[d]

unam maser harnasiatum cum argento et deaurat' cum uno rose prynte.

1457. Will of Lady Ela Shardlowe.[e]

j. murram cum cooperculo.

c. 1459. Will of John Dautre, of York, gent.[f]

unam murram vocatam Crumpuldud.

1463. Will of Eufemia, relict of Sir John Langton, knt.[g]

unam murram cum uno fronte de nomine Jhesu.

j aliam murram coopertam habentem in summitate castellum deauratum.

[a] *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxiii. 321.
[b] *Test. Ebor.* iii. 127, 131, 132.
[c] Richards' *History of Lynn*, i. 479.
[d] *Test. Ebor.* ii. 179.
[e] *Bury Wills and Inventories*, 14.
[f] *Test. Ebor.* ii. 232.
[g] *Ib.* ii. 259, 260.

j aliam murram stantem super tribus leonibus cum pede argenti et coopertorio argenteo deaurato.

j murram stantem deauratam infra et extra.

1463. Will of John Baret, of Bury.[a]

my maseer with a beend and a foot of siluir and ovir gilt.

1471. Will of Henry Holme, of Beverley, esq.[b]

unam murram secundariam.

c. 1476. Will of John Lathum, canon of Beverley.[c]

j novam murram stantem super pedem deauratum.

c. 1478. De bonis Domūs ablatis per Ricardum Bell, Episcopum Karliolensem.[d]

ij murrae stantes cum cooperculis de murra cum knopps et pedibus argenteis et deauratis.

Item una nova murra stans super tres leones argenti et deaurati cum cooperculo ligneo habente unum knopp argenteum et deauratum.

1480. Will of Sir Richard Hamerton, knight.[e]

Item I bequeth to the abbot and convent of the monastery of Sallay a standing maser, covered and gilted, to pray for me.

1486. Will of Isabell Wilton, of Hull.[f]

a maser, the printe of a nemying of Seynt George.

1488. Will of Thomas Richard of Prittlewell.[g]

Unam murram stantem cum coopertorio et pila deaurata pertinente eidem.

Unam planam murram.

1490. Will of Thomas Pereson, sub-dean of York.[h]

unam murram cum j frounce, et Jhesus insculpt' in eodem.

unam murram cum Jhesu in fronce, et j plate in latere.[i]

unam murram cum scriptura in vinculo, *Jhesus est amor meus.*

unam murram cum fronce fracto.

1491. Inventory of Merchant Taylors' Company.[k]

a maser, couered, w^{t} an Image of Saynt Kenelme, weying 9 vnces.

a stondyng maser, w^{t}oute couer, weying 11 vnces.

a grete maser, w^{t} a couer with Floure of syluer on the Knop . . . 17 vnces.

[a] *Bury Wills and Inventories*, 35.

[b] *Test. Ebor.* iii. 193.

[c] *Ib.* iii. 175.

[d] Surtees Soc. vi. xxxi. (pref.)

[e] *Test. Ebor.* iii. 258.

[f] *Ib.* iv. 17.

[g] *Trans. of Essex Arch. Soc.* v. 287.

[h] *Test. Ebor.* iv. 54.

[i] Probably a repair.

[k] Clode's *Memorials*, 82.

1496. Will of Johan Brette of Bury, widow.[a]

a maser "called the maser with the grette bonde."

1496. Will of William Came of Newark.[b]

a maser w^{t} a playne band sylver and gilte.

a standing nutte of maser w^{t} a foote of silver and overgilt w^{t} a coveryng to the same w^{t} iij estrich fedders of silver and ovirgilt.

a great maser that in the bothome of the same is grawed the name of Jhesu, silver and gilte.

a maser that hath in the bothom the figor of Saint Katerine.

1497. Craft of Founders of London.[c]

ffirst a maser w^{t} a boos of the gifte of a widowe called . . . . . weiyng viij oñz iij pt.

Itm a maser w^{t} a boos and an hert of silu' ou' gilted of the gifte of Robt. Reynolds weiyng ix oñz.

Itm a maser w^{t} a boos of the gifte of henry pendlowe weiyng vj oñz di qrt.

Itm a maser w^{t} a boos of the gifte of John Seykyn weiyng iv oñz di and di pt.

Itm a grete maser harnessed w^{t} siluer gilte of the gifte of John Betenden otherwise called Wayte weiyng xvj oñz pt.

Itm a gret maser harnessed w^{t} siluer gylt of the gifte of John Pynchebek weyying xj oñz.

It' a maser of ye gifte of some unknown wydow waying

The following entries have been subsequently added to the inventory in which the above occur:

Itm layd to pleche to John Hamond and John Beyrs a Masar w^{t} a Boysse pryntyd and Graveyn weyng xv ownees pris the ownee ij s ij d sm ys xxxij s x d payd.

Itm layd to pleche to Thomas Rayllton and John Seyteoll a maser w^{t} a holow boyss pryntyd w^{t} a hewar weying xvj ounces half pris the ownce ij s ij d ye sm̃ xxxv s ix d.

Itm layd to pleche to Mr Swetyng a Masar wyth a holow Boyss pryntyd w^{t} a coke weying xvj ownces saue halfe a pt pris the ownce ij s ij d sm̃ xxxiij s.

Itm layd to pleche to Mr Grybby a Masar w^{t} a byss pryntyd w^{t} a colombyn flowyr weyng viij ownces and a spon weyng a ownce and di qr sm̃ xx s x d.

Itm layd to pleche to Edward Collyngwod a Masar w^{t} a Boys weyng ix and a halfe pris ij s ij d sm̃ xx s j d.

Itm layd to pleche to Wyłłm Wecks a Masar weying vj ownces and a q^{r} pris the ownce ij s ij d sm̃ xiiij s viij d.

Itm layd to pleche to Jayms Sewyn a Masar w^{t} a harte in the boyss inamyll weyng ix ownees q^{tr} pris the ownce ij s ij d sm̃ xx s.

[a] *Bury Wills and Inventories*, 246.

[b] *Test. Ebor.* iv. 117, 118.

[c] *Arch. Jour.* xliii. 165, 167.

1498. Will of Katherine, widow of Thomas Mountford of Doncaster, alderman.[a]

the greatest maser of viijth . . . the beste masser w^{t} the prynt in the bothom . . . a masser w^{t} out a prynt in the bothom . . .

1501. Will of Robert Wooderove, citizen of Norwich, cook.[b]

a maser w^{t} a brode bonde, and a prynt of Jħus in the botom.

1504. Will of John Hedge of Bury.[c]

to my iiij chylderñ ych of them a maser bownd w^{t} sylu' & gylt.

1506. Will of John Gardener of Bury.[d]

j maser with iij feet silver and gilt.

1506—7. Will of Robert Plumpton of York.[e]

a maser standyng w^{t} a ymage of Saint John Baptist in the frons . . . and the last maser next ye pardon maser.[f]

1512. Inventory of Merchant Taylors' Company.[g]

a standyng maser with a cover and a lowe fote of the gyfte of Roger Doket preste. As it appereth on the fote of the same maser, pois 14 vnc. 1 quarter.

1526. From Cardinal Wolsey's plate.[h]

Item oone standing Masar gilte withoute a cover xiiij oz.

1528. From plate given by Cardinal Wolsey to his College of Ipswich.[i]

Item oone standing Masar withe a cover and foote silvar and gilte standing upon iij Lyons poz. xx oz. d.

Item a greate Masar with iiij small Masars and a cover of wood poz. xxxviij oz.

1533. Will of Robert Garrard of Ixworth.[k]

I bequethe to the seyd John my grette masere.

1534. Inventory of the goods of the Gild of St. Mary, Boston.[l]

A stondynge maser w^{t} a cou' & shell w^{t} all weynge xxvj unces di.

one great Maser w^{t} a sengle band w^{t} a prynt in the bothom gilt w^{t} an ymage of Allmyghti God sittynge at the iugement in the myddes of iiij evangelistes of the gift of Jamys barbor weynge xlix unces di.

[a] *Test. Ebor.* iv. 155.

[b] *Norfolk and Norwich Arch. Soc.* i. 121.

[c] *Bury Wills and Inventories*, 100.

[d] *Proc. of Bury and W. Suffolk Arch. Inst.* i. 329.

[e] *Test. Ebor.* iv. 259.

[f] Probably a mazer with an inscription granting to the user so many days of pardon, like the great York mazer.

[g] Clode's *Memorials*, 91. [h] *Collect. Curiosa*, ii. 329. [i] *Ib.* ii. 338.

[k] *Proc. of Bury and W. Suffolk Arch. Inst.* i. 108.

[l] Peacock's *English Church Furniture*, 192, 194, 195, 197, 198.

an other maser w^{t} a double band w^{t} a prynt in the myddes w^{t} a plate of syluer & gilte witten w^{t} these wordes "deum nr̃m" weynge xij unces.

a masar w^{t} a sengle band w^{t} a prynt in the bothom of the passion of saynt Thomas the martir & a plate of sylu' & gilte w^{t} an Ape lokynge in an urinall written w^{t} these woordes "this wat' is polows" weynge xv unces di.

a masar w^{t} a dowble band & a prynt in the bothom of sylu' & gilte w^{t} a rose in the same prynt of the gift of John lawes m̃chaunt weynge xiij unces iij q^{r}ters.

a Masar w^{t} a sengle band w^{t} a prynt of the v'nacle in the bothom weynge vij unces iij qrters & dī quarter.

a masar w^{t} a syngle band w^{t} a prynt in the bothom of silu' & gilte of the salutacion of ovr lady w^{t} a lili pott w^{t} a plate of silu' & gilte weynge vij unces j qrter.

a masar w^{t} a litill band w^{t} no prynte in the bothom of the gift of John Smyth beidman weynge vij vnces dī.

an other masar w^{t} a double band w^{t} a prynt in the bothom Emanuel gilt & gravyn w^{t} Jhũs weynge xj unces di'.

1534. Maison de Dieu, Dover.[a]

v grete masers with small bonds of sylver and gilt, and a littell olde nut with a bonde of sylver and gylt, and a littell bonde of sylver and gylt, waying in all lx unes.

iiij masers, whereof iij of them be with gylt bonds, and the fourth with a sylver bonde, dailye occupied, waying xxiiij unes.

ij masers with brode bands, sylver and gylt, and a litell maser with a fote and a small bande, sylver and gylt, waying xviii unes.

ij small masers with brode bands of sylver and gilt, waying lx unes.

1535. Priory of Minster in Sheppey, Kent.[b]

Dame Agnes Browne's chamber.

a lytill maser with a bryme of silver and gylt.

The Frayter.

j maser with bryme of sylver gilt.

My Lady Priores chamber.

another lesse standing maser with a cover, the fote gylt.

ij greate and ij lesse masors with brymmys and rosys in the botome, save j lacketh a roose.

1536. Sawtre Abbey, Northants.[c]

iij masers garnisshyd with sylver and gilt xviij oz.

A standing maser garnysshed with silver and gylt with a acorne yn the cope of sylver wood and all xx oz.

[a] *Arch. Cant.* vii. 275.

[b] *Ib.* vii. 296 *et seq.*

[c] *Archaeologia*, xliii. 239.

1537. Will of Sir Robert Cooke, vicar of Hawley, Suffolk.[a]
to Marget my sister my maser.

1538. Will of Alice Harvy of Bury.[b]
ij masers wyth bondꝭ sylver and gylte.

1540. Waltham Holy Cross Abbey, Essex.[c]
a Sarpentyne cuppe fassheon with a cover of a masor garnysshed with sylver.
a Standing Masor, with a cover garnysshed with sylver gylte.
v masors, garnysshed with sylver gylte.
ix masors, garnysshed with sylver gylte.

1548. Gild or Fraternity of Prittlewell, Essex.[d]
ij masers of silver wthout the wood xij oz. at xij oz.

1550. Hornchurch, Essex—belonging to the church.
Itm a maser w^{t} a narrow bonde of sylver.

1557. Will of Richard Brereton.[e]
a greate maser bounde aboute wth silver.

1558. Inventory of Richard Brereton.[f]
one great maser bole bounde wth silv' by estymacion xxxvth ounceꝭ comonly called St. Worburge bowle . . . . viij li.

1562—3. Will of Antony Calveley.[g]
a masar bole wth a border of sylver and gilt abowt ytt.

[a] *Bury Wills and Inventories*, 130.
[b] *Ib.* 136.
[c] *Trans. of Essex Arch. Soc.* v. 262.
[d] *Trans. of Essex Arch. Soc.* v. 135.
[e] *Lanc. and Chesh. Wills* (Chetham Soc. xxxiii.), 168.
[f] *Ib.* 173.
[g] *Ib.* 141.

XII.—*On Archaic conceptions of property in relation to the Laws of Succession; and their survival in England.* *By* G. Laurence Gomme, *F.S.A.*

Read February 18, 1886.

Primogeniture, aided by legal powers and by the strong necessities of feudal polity, has become in this country the dominant form of succession to title and estate, and has consequently thrust out of consideration many other forms which exist here and there. Two of these other forms, Gavelkind and borough-English (so called), have received some attention from lawyers and legal antiquaries, and they obtain in many localities as the legal form of succession; but there are other customs which have been altogether neglected, and which obtain in only a few isolated localities. The lawyer at the bidding of statesmen has striven for the furtherance of the right of primogeniture, and every other custom has had to prove its case before it could obtain recognition. Therefore, in a certain sense the law has never recognised any other form of succession than primogeniture. But what I shall have to point out in the following pages is that in the annals of rural England there are many conceptions attached to the holding of property, which, though succumbing in law to primogeniture, have left a history behind which is well worth examining. Before Mr. Elton dealt with primogeniture and junior-right as common descendants from one parent, an examination of the right of primogeniture never led the inquirer beyond the area bounded by feudal history. But by examining the two forms of succession together it has been shown that we arrive at the archaic family. But even this is not enough. The very first question which comparative science has to ask, is—why should we seek to ascertain the origin of the laws of succession by an exclusive study of two forms only? It is necessary to base one's inquiry not upon an examination of some

special forms, however widely prevalent, to the exclusion of all others, however narrowly limited; but upon an examination of all the forms of succession which have survived the exigencies of successive waves of political requirements. The process is somewhat tedious, perhaps, and somewhat speculative, but at almost every stage we are assisted by the important comparison which Hindu law and custom presents. In India the forms of succession have passed through varying stages of development, and fortunately under the eyes of English lawyers and students of archaic customs, and thus we have a compact body of evidence of the utmost value. It is only by such aids as comparative history can afford us that we may hope to fathom the darkness of our own early legal history, for, as Sir Francis Palgrave long ago remarked, "we have not a single law, and hardly a single document from which the course of the descent of land can be inferred."[a] Something has been recovered since Palgrave's time, it is true; but it has been recovered by the light thrown upon old documents by living archaic custom elsewhere. It seems worth while, therefore, to turn once again to the subject of succession, and endeavour to ascertain whether archaic polity, as made known to us by Hindu and other primitive customs, cannot account for some of the peculiar customs known to obtain in Great Britain, and find out their place of relationship to the well-known forms of primogeniture and junior-right.

Now the modern laws of succession appertain to property passing from an individual owner to his individual successor; and the first question we must ask ourselves, is—what is the original relationship of *individuals* to *property*? To put it broadly, it might be said that the progress towards civilization has been a progress towards the recognition of individual rights and individual status. Mr. Spencer has said, and there is much evidence to support his statement, that the savage lacks the extended consciousness of individual possession, and under his conditions it is impossible for him to have it. Beyond the few rude appliances ministering to his bodily wants, the primitive man has nothing that he can accumulate—there is no sphere for an acquisitive tendency.[b] This is at the very beginning of things, but its principle lasts down to the dawn of civilized history. Thus when we come to the primitive group, forming an integral portion of the Aryan village community, we see that one of its most distinctive features is represented by an axiom well known to modern lawyers—joint in food, worship, and estate. This formula is most interesting, first in its character of a survival;

[a] *English Commonwealth*, vol. i. p. 59.

[b] Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, vol. i. p. 68. Cf. Tylor's *Anthropology*, p. 420.

secondly, from its giving the starting point to all researches into the history of property and its attendant rights. Although it will take us a little far afield, it is necessary for one moment to glance at the evidence of the existence of the curious features of this famous formula.

1. *Joint in Food.*—The details of the system of common rights of food are most interesting, and Mr. Morgan, in his *Houses and House Life of the American Aborigines*, has worked out this subject to some length. All the Indian tribes, he says, who hunt upon the plains observe the custom of making common stock of the capture (p. 69). In Australia the same fact is to be observed, Messrs. Fison and Howitt noting that there was "a common right to food in the family."[a] So among the Kaffirs of Natal "food is regarded as common property."[b] Similar evidence is to be obtained from other parts of the savage world.[c] Among Aryan people the continuity of the custom is proved by the customs of India, Sir John Phear telling us that it is the universal habit in Bengal for the members of a family to live joint.[d] In Russia, even at the threshold of disintegration, we see the South Slavonian house-communities absorbing the profits earned by members of the family at a distance from their home, into the family chest.[e] Among the tribal communities of Wales the principle was observed to exist by Giraldus Cambrensis, who says "none of this nation ever begs, for the houses of all are common to all" (cap. x.). And finally I have ventured to trace the survival of the same archaic notions of joint living in many of our own local and manorial customs, in the gild constitution of the middle ages, in the leet-ales, clerk-ales, bid-ales, bride-ales, and other rural feasts.[f] Mr. Elton, too, has added very significantly that the modern house-warming following the change of residence is a survival of joint living, based upon the archaic theory of blood-relationship.[g]

2. *Joint in Worship.*—The primitive group of kinsmen is knit together under the protection of the family deity, and its integrity is sacred against all comers. Thus among the Samoans the house is built by directions of the family god. It

[a] *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 207. [b] Shooter's *Kaffirs of Natal*, p. 226.

[c] A good instance may be mentioned among the Andaman Islanders, see *Journ. Anthropological Inst.* xii. 328, 349.

[d] *The Aryan Village in India and Ceylon*, p. 76; Mr. J. D. Mayne in his *Hindu Law and Usage*, p. 188, sets forth the connection of joint-living with the origin of property very plainly.

[e] Maine's *Early Law and Custom*, p. 252. Cf. Wallace's *Russia*, i. 135.

[f] See *Folk-Lore Relics of Early Village Life*, p. 157.

[g] *Origins of English History*, p. 404.

could never, under any circumstances, pass from the family.[a] Among the New Zealanders, again, houses are accounted sacred to the use of the persons for whom they are built, and rarely after a battle, when every savage enormity has been perpetrated, are the houses of the murdered proprietors made use of by the rulers.[b]

This is a widely-spread and interesting belief and custom; and just to carry on the thread from savage people to our own land, it is perhaps sufficient to ask the significant question—was it not this self-same phase of belief which dictated to the English conquerors of Britain the desire to destroy and leave the stone buildings of their Roman predecessors, and to live in their own "wattle and daub"?[c] There is some evidence of this interesting fact to be obtained from folk-lore; but without detailing that here, we may note the curious passage from Beda, who says that King Ethelbert of Kent would not receive Augustine and his companions in any house lest, according to ancient superstition, magical arts might be imposed upon him.[d] If this be compared with savage beliefs, it is clear that our Anglo-Saxon ancestors had a wholesome fear of the malignity of the house-gods of their enemies, and there is very ample evidence in the survivals preserved by folk-lore to restore, in outline, at all events, the main features of the domestic hearth-religion of the Celtic and Anglo-Saxon races of Britain.[e] This domestic worship sees the family united by the sacred bond of worshipping at the family altar, the ancestral family deity.

3. *Joint in Estate.*—If the rights of food are held in common, and the sacred rites of religion bind all together in a common home, there is not much room for the individual acquisition of property; and in fact we see in the plainest fashion that the right of property dwelt in the collective group. When this archaic group settled down into agriculture the same collective idea of property is observable. As the products of hunting were held in common, so are the products of agriculture, and so in course of time are the lands which produce such products. Thus we arrive by very well marked stages of development at the village composed of separate families, each of which is settled within its own

[a] Pritchard's *Polynesian Reminiscences*, p. 109.

[b] Polack's *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, vol. i. pp. 204, 216.

[c] Mr. Wright suggests that frequently the Anglo-Saxons occupied the Roman Villa, but I see little evidenee of this, and the best authorities are against it.

[d] Beda, *Eccl. Hist.* Bk. I. chap. xxv.

[e] The exact evidence of this I have tried to trace out in my *Folk-lore Relics of Early Village Life*, and cf. Elton's *Origins of English History*, pp. 210 *et seq.*

homestead, and in virtue of such homestead, partaking in common with other similarly situated families, of rights in the surrounding village-lands, from the cultivation of which the whole group subsist. Now in this village group legal rights and status exist, not as between individual and individual, but as between family and family.

It is to this ancient family, joint in food, worship, and estate, that we must now turn our attention. It has gained its rights and its collectiveness (if the word is admissible) by the growing powers of the domestic religion which invested the homestead in the family—inalienably in the family. The members of the family had severally no rights within it. Their provisions, their clothing materials, their industrial utensils, their lands, belonged to the collective group. So long as this group of kinsmen kept together each member would share in the property accumulated in the homestead, would partake of its rights and privileges, would seek its protection and incur its responsibilities—the question of succession would in fact never occur. Only when such a homestead died out through want of male members would the question of its relationship to the village generally be raised; and in the social disgrace and religious misfortune with which such a catastrophe was regarded in ancient Rome and in modern India we can discover the principal cause of the various methods adopted in early society to prevent this state of things.[a]

Now it will be evident that a time will come when this group of kinsmen, so strictly bound together in the homestead, must split up, the increase of its members under favourable circumstances of existence becoming too great for its welfare or its capacity to exist. As a matter of fact one cannot of course imagine an indigenous group which has never undergone this splitting-up process. The picture of such a group as I have just ventured to depict represents a family perfect and intact it is true; but the right to so represent this is due to the fact that the archaic family does not suffer from the process of splitting-up. It gets rid of its departing members or section and it then closes in again to resume its old course, the new section also closing in and becoming in its turn a perfectly intact family group. It is not at this stage that the real question of succession would arise, and this can be best shown by a few examples of the formation of new groups.

A quotation given in Laveleye's *Primitive Property* (p. 7), from M. de Play, well illustrates the process of archaic disintegration. "Among the nomads (of

[a] This is fully discussed in Mr. J. D. Mayne's *Hindu Law and Usage.*

Russia) the direct descendants of one father generally remain grouped together; they live under the absolute authority of the head of the family in a system of community. We may say that nothing is the subject of separate ownership, except their clothing and weapons. When the increase of a family no longer admits of all its members remaining united, the head of the family directs an amicable separation, and determines the portion of the common possessions that should be given to the branch which is separating from the stem. On the other hand the community often holds together after the death of the head of the family." The same system is observable among the settled tribes who live under the organization known as the *mir*. "When the mother village became overcrowded," says M. Laveleye,[a] "a group was detached which advanced towards the east into the profound forest and vast steppes, where they found themselves face to face with the nomadic hunting tribes," and where, as M. Laveleye goes on to say, the strict organization of the *mir* enabled them to combine and conquer. In India the same thing occurred, according to the evidence of Mr. Tupper.[b]

That this self-same kind of process must have gone on in England during the time of the Anglo-Saxon settlement requires little or no proof. It is discoverable in the curious distribution of clan names in our names of places, which "accords with the supposition that the Saxon rule has gradually extended over the western and central districts by the cadets of families already settled in the island, and not by fresh immigrants arriving from abroad."[c] Mr. Kemble has pictured the process going on,[d] and Mr. Seebohm in his *English Village Community*, p. 171, has rescued from a MS. in the British Museum a portion of one of Alfred's treatises which allows us to obtain a vivid little glimpse of the possible growth of new communities. So long as there was enough land, daughter-communities would be continually sent forth to relieve the congestion from over-population, and no question of succession would yet have arisen. It will be seen hereafter that this phenomenon of history has left its mark upon the history of succession.

But there was another method of relieving the congestion of society arising from the pressure of population, and it will be necessary to notice this, for it, too, has, I venture to think, left its trace upon the laws of succession.

[a] *Primitive Property*, p. 34, and consult Wallace's *Russia*, vol. i. p. 255.

[b] *Punjáb Customary Law*, vol. ii. p. 40, and cf. Mayne's *Hindu Law and Usage*, p. 180; Lewin's *Wild Tribes of S. E. India*, p. 257.

[c] Taylor's *Words and Places*, 6th edit. p. 86, *et seq.*

[d] *Saxons in England*, vol. i. pp. 65, 70.

M. Kolben speaking of the Hottentots says, "When persons of either sex become superannuated or in short unable to perform the least office for themselves, they are then, by the consent of the kraal, placed in a solitary hut, at a considerable distance, with a small stock of provisions within their reach; where they are left to die of hunger or be devoured by the wild beasts."[a] This really points to the death of the aged when the means of subsistence falls short, that is when the *property* of the group ceases to support. But the curious point to note is that this barbaric custom has close parallels within the ken of our own archaic history.

In the first place it certainly can be traced in a part of the history of the Valhalla of the early races of Europe. Mr. Duchaillu has noticed that "a few miles from Karlshaum there is a beautiful spot called Valhalla made of gigantic boulders piled one upon another, which form in one part a grotto. This was in heathen times an ättestupa, that is a place from which the people when old and infirm used to throw themselves, it being considered shameful to die in bed or of old age."[b] And this I connect with "an old countrie story" which Aubrey mentions under the title of "the holy mawle." This was a hammer which "(they fancy) hung behind the Church dore, which when the father was seaventie the sonne might fetch, to knock his father in the head, as effœte, and of no more use."[c]

It will be readily admitted that the English "countrie story" is a very archaic form of this savage practice of killing the aged and infirm. But the important part of this subject for our purpose is that this country custom discovered by Aubrey is connected by unquestionable evidence with the descent of property. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1850 (Pt. i. pp. 250-252) Mr. W. J. Thoms gave an explanation of the holy mawle, identifying it with the hammer of Thor, and in the course of his most interesting researches he gives some curious facts which will be worth while noting.

Mr. Wright, in his volume of Latin stories published by the Percy Society,[d] prints one story in which an old man surrenders all his property to the husband of his daughter. It is important to note in passing that this surrender can be archaically accounted for by the practice of appointing a daughter to bring an heir. But in the medieval Latin story the father gets ill-treated and at last

[a] Mavor's *Collection of Voyages*, iv. 41.

[b] *Land of the Midnight Sun*, ii. 438.

[c] *Remains of Gentilisme and Judaisme* (Folk-lore Society), p. 19.

[d] Vol. viii. 29.

driven out of the house. He gets taken back again, however, and at the point of death, as it is graphically stated, "antequam totaliter expiraret, ad cistam currentes nihil invenerunt nisi malleum, in quo Anglice scriptum erat

> Wyht suyle a betel be he smyten,
> That al the werld hyt mote wyten,
> That gyfht his sone al his thing,
> And goht hym self a beggyn.

In this Latin story, softened down to meet the tastes of medieval story-telling, we see traces of Aubrey's "holy mawle" custom in operation, and it is a singular coincidence that in several of the cities of Silesia and Saxony there hangs at the city gate a mallet with this inscription:

> Wer den kindern gibt das Brod
> Und selber dabei leidet Noth
> Den schlagt mit dieser keule todt.

which may be Englished thus:

> Who to his children gives his bread
> And thereby himself suffers need,
> With this mallet strike him dead.

Of course, in these variants we have lost the original significance which is preserved in Aubrey's record of the custom in England. But the German scholar Nork has proved that "the English construction must necessarily, as the earlier, precede the German," and Dr. Guest supplies some information, which to my mind helps to confirm this opinion. We not unfrequently, he says, find an axe traced on the slabs used in the construction of ancient sepulchral chambers; and in a certain Breton tomb (*Arch.* xxv. 232) the axe is sculptured in relief on the underside of the covering slab, immediately above where the body lay; and there are many inscriptions on Gaulish tombs erected during the first three centuries which contain the formula "sub ascia."[a] Is not this axe to be identified with the "holy mawle" of Aubrey, thus bringing the whole group of customs into close connection with that ancient practice of killing the aged and infirm rather than break up the family?

[a] *Origines Celticae*, ii. 85.

Not only does this curious survival help us to understand the permanence of archaic ideas, but it seems to be closely connected with another set of customs, which show the setting aside of the father when old age comes on; and thus we get a kind of development from the actual killing of the father.[a] Some examples of this will be interesting and instructive.

By the custom of the country of Spiti, the father retires from the headship of the family when his eldest son is of full age, and has taken unto himself a wife . . . on each estate there is a kind of dower-house with a plot of land attached, to which the father in these cases retires. When installed there he is called the Káng Chumpa (small-house man).[b] The Scandinavian parallel to this has been described by Mr. Du Chaillu, in a passage which I think contains portions of the old formula and rights attending the ceremony. "On a visit to Husum, an important event took place, when, according to immemorial custom, the farm was to come into the possession of the eldest son. The dinner being ready, all the members of the family came in and seated themselves around the board, the father taking, as is customary, the head of the table. All at once, Roar, who was not seated, came to his father and said: 'Father, you are getting old; let me take your place.' 'Oh no, my son,' was the answer, 'I am not too old to work; it is not yet time: wait awhile.' Then with an entreating look Roar said, 'Oh, father, all your children and myself are often sorry to see you look so tired when the day's labour is over: the work of the farm is too much for you; it is time for you to rest and do nothing. Rest in your old age. Oh, let me take your place at the head of the table.' All the faces were now extremely sober, and tears were seen in many eyes. 'Not yet, my son.' 'Oh yes, father.' Then said the whole family: 'Now it is time for you to rest.' He rose, and Roar took his place and was then the master. His father, henceforth, would have nothing to do, was to live in a comfortable house, and to receive yearly a stipulated amount of grain or flour, potatoes, milk, cheese, butter, meat, &c."[c] In this curious narrative it is important to note how the formula adopted for the carrying out of the ceremony leads us to suppose that the occasion is a very painful and trying one to the family, and it suggests itself to my mind that in the old formula we have traces of the still older customs of the Valhalla. Similar customs existed in

[a] A passage in Polack's *New Zealanders* (i. p. 27) suggests that as soon as the son was born, he, "boasting of an additional branch to the ancestral tree," is superior to his progenitor.

[b] Tupper's *Punjáb Customary Law*, ii. p. 188.

[c] Du Chaillu's *Land of the Midnight Sun*, i. p. 393.

Bavaria[a] and in Würtemberg,[b] and I think some old Celtic customs occurring in Kinross, Ireland, and in Cornwall are to be referred to the same origin.[c]

From the customs we have just examined, existing among uncivilized people and in our own country, we have the proposition before us that before the question of succession to property either moveable or immoveable could have arisen the process of migration to new settlements must have come permanently to a close, and the practice of killing the aged and infirm must have ceased. When society had reached this stage, there arose for the first time what must have been a most momentous problem in primitive politics—how is the homestead to be preserved with all the sacred traditions of the ancestral hearth-worship clustering around it, and to whom was to be intrusted the sacred duty of carrying on the family and performing the religious duties to the deceased father or head?

The first answer given to this question was undoubtedly that the homestead must *not* be divided, never mind by what social risks or impoverishments such a course would be attended. How sturdily the question has been fought, and how largely the influence of a priestly religion has been brought to bear against this archaic position of absolute impartibility may be ascertained so far as India at all events is concerned by a study of Mr. J. D. Mayne's *Hindu Law and Usage*, where it is laid down that originally partition of property was entirely unknown (p. 191) until the influence of Brahminism was brought to bear upon the family, and which "has only been exerted for the purpose of breaking it up" (p. 5).[d]

It will be unnecessary to detail the history of the influences of the Christian priesthood on the law of property in Europe, for it is well known that its effect has been parallel to that of Brahminism in India.[e] But it is worth while pointing out how in face of this influence the old rules of society have survived in the many significant facts which have long affected the laws of succession in England. They are curious and deserve some investigation, and the result will prove, if I

[a] See *Cobden Club Essays—Primogeniture.* [b] Tupper's *Punjáb Customary Law*, ii. 188.

[c] I will merely refer my readers to Ure's *Agriculture of Kinross*, 997, p. 57; and cf. Mason's *Statistical Account of Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 209, and Carew's *Cornwall*, p. 38.

[d] But the idea spreads far beyond India. In Burmah, says Colonel Phayre, "it is considered that land cannot be alienated from the family it belongs to: there appears to be almost a religious objection to parting finally with it"—*Ethnological Society*, vi. 228; and one of our greatest difficulties in the Transvaal arose from the native idea that land was not saleable. See Correspondence, Parliamentary Paper, 1885 (c. 4588), p. 45.

[e] This has been touched upon in *Essays in Anglo-Saxon Law*, p. 73.

mistake not, that in this branch of our local law we have traces of that older Aryan society which believed in the absolute impartibility of the homestead and the social unit within it.

The impartible nature of property can be shown to have existed in our own land by some curious examples of the long survival of joint-ownership, itself a development from the old family rights. Only lately M. Fustel de Coulanges, in his *Recherches sur quelques problèmes d'histoire* has had occasion to point out that the slight glimpses of the German law of inheritance afforded by Tacitus indicate that land was the joint property of the family, and that it was indivisible.[a] "*When* brothers share their patrimony" is the significant formula of the Welsh laws.[b] In Ireland "sometimes the co-heirs did not divide the land but continued to occupy the land in common."[c] In Domesday Book there are some few instances of males holding in co-parceny, or as it is there expressed *in paracio*. It is impossible here to go into the curious evidence which Domesday supplies of group-holding, but in the cases where the township was held as a joint property by a small body, Sir Francis Palgrave can only suppose that inheritances when divided were partible amongst the male heirs.[d] But joint-property held by the township community is a direct descendant from the joint-property of the village community.[e] In Scotland I have succeeded in discovering several instances of joint tenancies, where the property has remained impartible down to modern times, though, of course, at the present time it possesses more of the characterestics of modern legal holdings than of the archaic family holding.[f]

In Scotland, too, there is another interesting fact which enables us to grasp how strong was the feeling against the splitting up of the homestead. It is that some estates are to be seen, as for instance in North Uist,[g] and in the Island of Harris in 1795, held in a kind of joint ownership by the chieftain and his descendants. Of old, says Sir John Sinclair, the chieftains planted their younger sons about them upon their own property and gave them portions of

[a] Cf. also Hampson's *Origines Patriciae*, p. 343; and in that unsatisfactory work, Ross's *Early History of Landholding among the Germans*, ample evidence is collected from the laws proving the original indivisibility of family property.

[b] See *Leges Walliae*, quoted by Mr. Elton, *Origins of English History*, p. 137.

[c] See Sullivan's *Introd. to O'Curry's Lectures*, i. p. 182. Also *Brehon Law Tracts*, vol. iv. p. cv.

[d] *Hist. Eng. Com.* i. p. 66. [e] See my paper in *Archaeologia*, vol. xlvi. pp. 403-422.

[f] I have duly discussed the archaic nature of these joint tenancies in my address to the Glasgow Archaeological Society, November 1884.

[g] See Sinclair's *Stat. Acc. of Scotland*, vol. xiii. 310.

land for small yearly rents which were continued with their descendants from one generation to another. Under such a system as this the old chief homestead was preserved and the clan became settled in the lands around forming an integral property which in relation to the chief homestead had not been split up and divided. Each little section was doubtless subject to its own rules of descent according to the modern laws, but in its origin the formation of the estate was archaic, and it answered at the time the question we are now discussing, namely, what was to be done when migration to new settlements was permanently stopped.

In English manorial customs we meet with evidence which is illustrative of this portion of our inquiry, and which is a sort of counterpart, under other influences, to the Scottish customs just noticed. In Lancashire and some parts of Cumberland the lord of the manor is compelled to grant a piece of ground for a house and garden to a newly-married tenant.[a] Clearly as regards the so-called tenant-lands, there could be no question of succession. But the struggle of the archaic family to hold its own in England is still to be traced in English law.[b]

I think the impartible nature of property is shown in the later history of the guild and the freedoms of municipal boroughs. Much has been written upon the origin of the guild; but one thing stands out very clearly, namely, that at one time it was a band of relations holding property in common, that is, the property was impartible, and succession took place by birth within the guild organization. This was the case at Totnes so late as 1260, and in many other places. When the guild organization gave way before commercial ideas the archaic rules became extinct; but I think the true history of this process may be traced by a comparison between the later influences of locality against the archaic influences of kinship, a comparison which, in the case of early Greek institutions, has been very ably dealt with by Mr. Fison. In the same way succession to municipal freedoms was frequently down to modern days by kinship, the enjoyment of the common property being conveyed by this tie.

The full force and significance of this objection to the partition of ancestral property in early society has not, I think, been sufficiently taken into account when endeavouring to elucidate points in early law and custom. Certainly Mr. Seebohm has missed the point when he argues that the holders of yard-lands, or bundles of recognised strips of land in the open fields, were villeins, because,

[a] Hampson's *Medii Ævi Kalendarium*, i. 289. The same curious custom existed in Scandinavia. See Du Chaillu's *Land of the Midnight Sun*, vol. ii. p. 251.

[b] *Essays in Anglo-Saxon Law*, p. 72; Elton's *Tenures of Kent*, p. 137; Spence's *Court of Chancery*, vol. i. 148-149.

among other characteristics, their holdings were indivisible.[a] "The very possibility," he says, "of this permanent succession, generation after generation, of a single holder to the indivisible bundle of strips called a yard-land or virgate, . . . seems to have implied the servile nature of the holding. The lord put in his servant as tenant of the yard-land, and put in a successor when the previous one died. This seems to be the theory of it." No doubt from Mr. Seebohm's point of view this theory fits in with the rest of his researches; but when we consider that the non-partition of a homestead and holding is the archaic rule, and that it held its own against great forces far down into modern times, the evidence seems to suggest that the villagers of King Ine's time, who were holding their yard-lands from generation to generation, were doing so not in obedience to the lord, but in accordance with a usage which was once sacred in their eyes, and which had still all the traditional reverence of immemorial custom —a usage sanctioned by authority far more powerful than a lord or chieftain in Anglo-Saxon times would have attained. This usage in point of fact takes us back to the "ancestral shares" of the free village community and absolutely identifies Anglo-Saxon custom with the customs of archaic, and hence unromanized, society.[b] Further, it must be noted that Mr. Seebohm adopts the language of the modern lawyer when he speaks of a "single holder" of the indivisible bundle of strips. The single holder has at his back the family group occupying the homestead, from which he simply stands forth as representative.[c] And the question as to how this group was to subsist when it became too large for its holding was answered in later Saxon times, when daughter-communities had ceased to colonize, by a process which can be shown to be perfectly archaic. This was the large influx of men into towns when commerce began to demand such recruits, and whom archaic law refused to recognise (as "landless" men) unless they put themselves under the legal protection of some lord. Thus we find

[a] *English Village Community*, pp. 176, 419.

[b] It is curious to note that this idea seems to have occurred to Mr. Seebohm himself, for at p. 77 of his work he says, "They (the villani) possessed all the unity and indivisibility of an entailed estate and were sometimes known apparently for generations by the family name of the holders. But the reason underlying all this regular devolution was not the preservation of the family of the tenant but of the services due from the said land to the lord of the manor."

[c] Mr. Seebohm admits this when dealing with the Irish tribes, see p. 217. But indeed it is shown by many valuable examples. Grimm, *Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 539, says, the possession of a house was the source of all other rights; and in English law municipal rights are in many places attached to the house.

that to many of the Domesday manors are said to belong so many burgesses—"huic manerio pertinent 6 burgenses in Crichelade" are the words with reference to Aldeborne in Wilts. But these burgesses retained in the towns the duties and rights of their own family homesteads, just as in Russia members of the village community frequently go into the towns to work but still retain all their old archaic relations with the *mir*.

Having thus far dwelt upon the obstacles which barred partition of family property we will next consider the state of things when partition began to be recognized. It will be found that several legal limitations were enforced, and some of these may be mentioned.

In India, where the objection to the partition of property exists in full force to the present day—in fact where property is considered to be joint unless proved to the contrary—one of the limitations to partition is with reference to the house-mother. "There seems," says Mr. J. D. Mayne,[a] "to be no doubt that originally the right of brothers to divide the family estate was deferred till after the death of the mother. . . . . According to the Thesawaleme this is actually the rule. When the father dies leaving children, the mother takes all the property and gives the daughters their dowry but the sons may not demand anything as long as she lives." The Thesawaleme here alluded to is a description of the customs of the Tamil inhabitants of Jaffa, on the island of Ceylon, and Mr. Mayne goes on to give corroborative evidence from Naroda and other Hindu law writers. I think some rules of descent in English manors may be interpreted by the same archaic standard. In Somerset, the well known case of Taunton Deane, the widow succeeds "as next heir unto her husband."[b] At Braunston in Northamptonshire the widow succeeds upon the performance of a particular custom;[c] at Orleton in Herefordshire;[d] at Southwell in Nottinghamshire;[e] at Stockwood in Dorset;[f] and in other places the widow succeeds for her life, the property then going to the heirs of the husband. Now this in archaic law is simply a deferring of the partition until the death of the widow, a reading of the evidence which is confirmed by the fact that the provision for the chastity of the widow obtains in India as well as in England. Mr. Mayne says that the archaic explanation of this is that originally the widow succeeded so that she might raise up issue for her husband and that of course the male relations would have a strong interest in inducing a widow to

[a] *Hindu Law and Usage*, p. 194. Compare the custom of the Andaman Islanders recorded in *Anthropological Institute*, vol. xii. p. 141. [b] Shillibeer's *Customs of Taunton Deane*, p. 42.
[c] Hazlitt's *Tenures of Land*, p. 37. [d] *Ibid.* 236. [e] *Ibid.* 289. [f] *Ibid.* 298.

refrain from exercising her right and she would have a specially strong interest in availing herself of it; the obvious compromise to this being to allow her to succeed at once to a life estate in the property provided she waived the privilege of producing a new owner.[a]

In these cases the absolute impartibility of the property, that is of the family homestead, is the underlying basis of archaic thought which has given rise in various ways to customs still to be found extant in all branches of the Indo-European race. In the oldest days it was a question of migration to new settlements, or the death of the aged and infirm, and of infants, which decided the limits which a family community put upon itself for the support of all its members and the keeping together of the homestead. And even when commercial ideas had so far got the better of traditional ideas, that family properties became alienable, though not necessarily partible, there existed a law which again illustrates the strong force which archaic custom has upon even the most progressive of societies. This is known as the right of pre-emption, that is, the right of any member of a family to re-purchase property, which, having once belonged to the family, had, owing to some circumstance or other been sold or otherwise parted with; for in the words of Mr. J. D. Mayne, "as long as the land held by a family was only proportioned out by the community for their use, it is evident they could not dispose of it to a stranger without the consent of the general body,[b] and this restriction was extended to the right known as pre-emption, when the land became saleable. This right exists all over the Punjáb,[c] and in many other places,[d] but it will suffice if I point out its survival among English customs. It is mentioned in express terms in Ine's and Alfred's Laws, from which I will quote the following extracts, as they are little known in connection with the important subject they illustrate.

In Ine's Laws (c. 38) it is provided, "If a ceorl and his wife have a child together, and the ceorl dies, let the mother have the child and feed it; let them give her . . . . shillings for support—a cow in summer, an ox in winter. Let the kin hold the homestead until it (the child) be grown up."

In Alfred's Laws (§ 41), it recites that "if a man have land, and his kin left it him, then we declare that he must not sell it out of his kindred if there be writing or witness that the man forbade who first acquired it, and those who granted it to him, that he might not."

[a] Mayne's *Hindu Law*, p. 447. [b] *Hindu Law and Usage*, p. 187.

[c] Tupper's *Punjáb Customary Law*, vol. ii. p. 36.

[d] For the Scandinavian evidence, see Du Chaillu's *Land of the Midnight Sun*, ii. 290.

A charter of 804 (Cod. Dip. clxxxvi.) is an example of the grants which subsequently were embodied in this law. Æthelric comes before the synodical council "cum libris et ruris . . . . . quod propinqui mei tradiderunt mihi et donaverunt." A charter of Offa's, of still earlier date (776), contains a limitation to the family in terms "post se suae propinquitatis homini cui ipse vo[luerit]" (Cod. Dip. cxxxvii).

In Domesday the right of pre-emption is expressly mentioned in the record relating to Lincoln, and there are other instances of it. Nottingham, Preston, Salford, Winchester, Fordwich, are among the boroughs which I have been able to identify as possessing this archaic provision relating to property, and it is found frequently in manorial law.[a] In Ireland the custom is shown to exist most curiously, as the subjoined note will illustrate.[b]

These few examples have illustrated the impartible nature of the archaic homestead and its attached rights of property, by showing what took place at the time when the question of partition was first presented to the members of the primitive community. And we have established, if my reading of the evidence is correct, that the self-same class of action which arose in India under these conditions exists, or has existed, in England. In India this action and its consequent legal notions are demonstrably archaic, and they live in a society where primitive politics is the governing force; and from hence we may argue that the parallel customs in England originated in the same condition of things, and hence illustrate the same phase of primitive life. We have now to apply ourselves to the final portion of our inquiry—what relation do these archaic notions of property, isolated and peculiar as they stand in English law, bear to the more fully recognised customs of succession—primogeniture and junior-right?

Both primogeniture and junior-right are known to the most archaic types of society which the modern inquirer is able to discover; but they are known, not as

[a] Elton's *Origins of English History*, p. 404.

[b] In Hardeman's *Ancient Irish Deeds and Writings chiefly relating to Landed Property* (Dublin, 1826, p. 54), it is stated that "the consent of the entire tribe or family was necessary before an individual could alienate any part of the Inheritance. Deed No. xix. is a mortgage of lands belonging to Donald MacShane to Donald O'Slattery. The conditions between Donald O'Slattery and Donald MacShane are that it shall not be in the power of any person to redeem that land from Donald O'Slattery, except Donald MacShane himself, his son or grandson. The green of Killeen is the place charged with his mortgage as is attested by Donald [ ] *i.e.* Sheeda and his children Finian and MacCon, and Mera, daughter of Bryan in like manner, and the children of Commeadha MacLoghlan, and many others of the race, who have given their permission and consent at both sides, A.D. 1502, this covenant has been entered into between them."

customs governing the right of succession to property, but as governing the right of succession to chiefship. This is an important distinction. Long before the question of the partition of property arose, there was need of some law of succession to the headship of the family, or the chiefship of the clan.[a] It was this head, or chief, who performed the funeral rites and the religious ceremonies at the sacred hearth to the manes of the deceased chief and his ancestors, and that this duty was a vastly important one in all branches of the Aryan family there is plenty of evidence to prove.

In India, where the house-religion and house-altar at the domestic hearth have not been disturbed, the question of succession to the headship of a family is almost inextricably mixed up with the question as to who should succeed to the right of offering funeral oblations to the deceased chief. And Mr. Mayne significantly quotes from Dr. Mayr, that "in later times when partition was resorted to, it became necessary to define who should offer the funeral cake, and naturally this duty fell upon those who took the inheritance."[b]

This, then, shows us the connection between succession to chiefship, and succession to property. It comes about at the stage in the history of society when property has lost its ancestral nature and has become partible.

The first instinct when once property became partible was to divide it amongst all the sons, corresponding to the more archaic practice of dividing the common property equally when the family was separating off to form new communities in different homesteads. And so when we come to consider where it is that this equal division takes place, we find it to exist in those places which retain most strongly the relics of early tribal organisation as distinct from village organisation. This is an important feature. But there also exists evidence to show that this partition was originally most fully and completely guarded by a long process. In Ireland, for instance, "the division of property took place in this way; each son was entitled to an equal share of the cattle and land, but not of the houses and offices, the pots, the brewing vats, and other vessels and implements, which went to the elder brother, together with the houses and offices. But in consideration of this special inheritance he was bound to accept the responsibility of entertaining the retinue of the king, a bishop, or a *Sai*. He was the stem of the family, and until his brothers became of age was responsible before the law for them, and the assertor of their rights; the guardian of his sisters and other members of the family; and plaintiff and defendant in all suits of law. During the first year of their co-occupancy, a temporary staking

[a] Cf. Mayne's *Hindu Law and Usage*, p. 435. [b] *Ibid.*

of the several shares of the land took place; and in the second, an exchange of lots, in order that each should know the quality and capabilities of the land of the other. In the third year the land was measured by poles and ropes to determine boundaries. In the fourth year the boundaries were conformed so as to bar litigation thereafter, and each brother gave security to maintain his fences. The *Ail* or boundary was begun to be made around it at the end of the fifth year, and should be finished within the tenth year, with the exception of a comb or capping of blackthorn, which need not be finished before the end of that year. One month after the completion of the fence the division of the land and establishment of the boundaries were legally proclaimed." "The woods, bogs, and waste continued common."[a]

The position of the elder brother in this interesting record is the position which is assigned in India to the son who takes upon himself the religious duties to the deceased ancestor; and it is this position which decides alike the origin of both primogeniture and junior-right.

Reeve, in his *History of English Law* (i. 76) says that "as low down as the reign of Henry I. the right of primogeniture was so feeble that if there was more than one son, the succession was divided, and the eldest son took only the *primum patris feodum:* the rest being left to the younger son or sons." Mr. Elton has pointed out that in gavelkind as in junior-right, it was customary to "let all the sons divide the heritage equally . . . but the hearth-place shall belong to the youngest son . . . and as far as forty feet round the hearth-place."[b] Thus the oldest forms of both primogeniture and junior-right lead us back to archaic notions of property, namely, that the homestead is sacred and impartible, that so long as the family remains together the possessions attaching to the homestead are also impartible, and that so soon as partition is admissible, equal division takes place, the homestead, however, going intact to a specially selected heir. "Property," says Mayne in relation to Hindu law, "which is in its nature impartible, can of course only descend to one of the issue, which that one is to be will depend upon the custom of the family."[c]

This factor in Hindu law enables us to ask, with reference to English law, is it archaic family custom which in one place allows the eldest son to succeed to the headship of the family, and in another place the youngest?[d] It is at this

[a] Sullivan's *Introduction to O'Curry's Lectures*, vol. i. pp. clxxx-clxxxii.

[b] *Origins of English History*, p. 190. The portions omitted from this quotation do not affect my argument.

[c] *Hindu Law and Usage*, 462.

[d] Lewin in his *Wild Races of S. E. India* gives an instance where eldest and yonngest inherited to the exclusion of others, p. 280.

point that it becomes necessary to note that the family or group we are now dealing with has passed through the stages where kinship is only reckoned through females and has become a kindred reckoning its rights of membership through male descent. Turning to an example of such a kindred we may be guided by the curious evidence afforded by Kafir law, as to the answer to be given to our question: for it is the Kafir practice for the chief to have several wives, and when in old age he has a child by his favourite young wife, it is this child, the son of his youngest wife, and hence probably his youngest son, who succeeds to the chieftainship.[a] On the other hand, in India, where primogeniture is the general rule, the question as to who is the eldest son does not depend upon the seniority of the mother, but on priority of birth—the eldest son is the son who was born first, not the first-born son of a senior wife.[b] But the comparatively late form of individual succession in India, aided as it has been by English legal ideas, cannot shut out the much earlier rule that the position of the mother materially affects the laws of succession, even after kinship has ceased to be reckoned through females.[c] It is therefore important to note that mother-right has by no means disappeared from the customs of rural England. In the fishing town of Staithnes, in Yorkshire, the children are all called by their mother's names,[d] in some parts of Ireland,[e] in Wales,[f] and in Scotland[g] the same practice obtains. If these examples be considered, together with all that Mr. McLennan has advanced, as to the wide-spread influence of the system of female kinship, we may well suggest that the fact of mother-right not even now being dead amongst us, shews it must have exercised considerable influence upon family custom within historical times.

If that influence tended in any way to sanction the practice of junior-right, or to familiarize men with the idea that the succession of the youngest was an admissible custom in certain circumstances, there was one other great event in the history of the family settlement in England which threw all its weight into the scale in favour of establishing such conditions as would make the recognition of the rights of the youngest inevitable in certain districts. This was the nature

[a] Maclean's *Kafir Laws and Customs*, p. 26. [b] Mayne's *Hindu Law*, p. 462.

[c] In Polack's *New Zealanders* it is related how a certain chief, proposing to bring home a new wife, the old wife objected until the chief promised "before her relations that her children only should have the inheritance," vol. i. p. 50.

[d] Notes and Queries. [I have lost this reference, but am certain of the fact].

[e] Mason's *Statistical Account of Ireland*, i. 48. [f] Pennant's *Tour in Wales*, p. 406.

[g] Burt's *Letters from the Highlands*, i. 63.

of the settlement itself. Mr. Isaac Taylor in his *Words and Places* has an instructive table, showing from an arrangement of place-names what proportion of "original settlements" to "filial colonies" each county possesses. It is found that the names of the former class—original settlements—are chiefly to be found in the south-eastern districts of the island, where the earliest Teutonic settlements were formed, namely, Kent, Sussex, Middlesex, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, Beds, Hants, and the adjacent counties, and that these original Teutonic settlements gradually diminish in frequency as we proceed towards the northern and western counties, until in the semi-Celtic districts of Derbyshire, Devonshire, and Lancashire, they are wholly, or almost wholly, wanting. Now this instructive piece of history shows which counties, possessing original settlements, sent daughter-communities to settle in the more distant lands; and it is exactly in those same counties (where we find that in early Saxon times the village communities split up, and sent sections to form village communities elsewhere) that we find also the prevalence of the custom of junior-right, namely, Kent (the whole county), Sussex (140 manors), Middlesex (16 manors), Essex (14 manors), Norfolk (12 manors), while to the north of a line drawn between the Humber and Mersey the usage appears to have been unknown. Can we resist the conclusion, therefore, that the communities in settlement in the districts of Kent, Sussex, Middlesex, Essex, and Norfolk sent forth their eldest members to form new settlements in the yet unconquered country, leaving the youngest sons to take up the duties of family chief in the villages at home? The old associations of mother-right would thus be added to the newer necessities of settlement, and would gradually enforce a custom that youngest sons should inherit the homestead.

We have now gone through the evidence, which shortly, as it is stated here will, I hope, enable us to understand how greatly archaic family custom has affected the laws of succession in England. It is this family custom which gave the initial step towards the creation of certain modern established local rules, the most prominent being primogeniture, or junior-right. And, flowing from this archaic family custom, we have discovered a vast quantity of ideas attached to the conception of property which have in more ways than one affected the growth of laws, or rules, or customs, relating to succession.

XIII.—*Documents relating to the death and burial of king Edward II.*

By Stuart Archibald Moore, *F.S.A.*

Read April 8, 1886.

The task I have set myself in this paper, a task in which I fear I shall hardly succeed, is to endeavour to wipe away from the pages of our national history one of the foulest blots that stains them, viz., the legend, the unproved rumour, of the hideous detail of the murder of king Edward II. in Berkeley Castle.

I suspect I am not the first inquirer on this subject, for I find the wardrobe account of 1 Edward III. which I shall presently refer to has been "galled," probably for the purpose of making a copy of it.

I can find no better authority for the story of king Edward's murder than the chronicle of Adam Murimuth, who tells the tale of how the deposed king was taken to Kenilworth, and thence to Berkeley, and to Corfe, and back again to Berkeley. And that about the feast of St. Matthew the Evangelist (September 21) he was murdered by Maltravers and Gurney by the insertion of a red-hot spit into the intestines. Murimuth states that although many abbots and priors and burgesses of Bristol and Gloucester were called to see the body they only looked upon it superficially, and that it was commonly said (*dictum tamen fuit vulgariter*) that by the order of Maltravers and Gurney the king was placed under a heavy door to prevent his moving, and that a horn having been inserted in the *anus* the hot spit was thrust through it into the intestines in order that the murder might be committed without leaving marks of violence upon the body.

The account of Murimuth has been enlarged, elaborated, and varied by De la More, and later historians have improved on his account, Rapin going so far as to say that his body was immediately buried without any funeral pomp in the abbey church of Gloucester; and the tale appears to have been generally

received as authentic history unto the present time, Lingard stating it as actual fact.

Bishop Stubbs in his introduction to the second volume of the *Life of Edward II.* appears to doubt the tale, and remarks that the statements of De la More, being recorded full twenty years after the event, are susceptible of some criticism if any conflicting statements can be brought against them, and further says it is not to be wondered that, as the whole treatment of the king was secret, there should be a great mystery about his end. He corrects the error that he was buried hastily, and states (correctly) that he was buried at Gloucester with sufficient pomp, but there were suspicious "marvellous circumstances" about the whole matter. He prints the curious letter from Manuel Fieschi, purporting to contain the confession of Edward II. after his escape from Berkeley and certain mysterious adventures which had ended in his finding a resting-place in Italy. The tale of escape is that Edward changed dresses with his servant and escaped to Corfe castle, and thence to Ireland, and subsequently to Italy; but Bishop Stubbs appears to think that the letter was either a political trick devised in the French court at the beginning of the great war to throw discredit on Edward III., and possibly to create disaffection in England, or that it was the invention of an impostor or the confession of a madman; but, carefully criticising its contents, although he doubts its authenticity, he says that there "the fact remains at present, inexplicable."

The documents to which I am about to refer may, I think, help us to throw some little light on the subject, and will, I think, utterly disprove the tale of the king's escape; but the history of his death is a dark one, and one entry in these documents to which I shall presently refer more particularly gives ground for surmises with respect to the story which cuts both ways.

We have first on the Chancellor's Roll of 1 Edward III. the account of Thomas de Berkeley and John Maltravers of the moneys received by them and expended for the expenses of king Edward II. while they had the custody of him living, and the custody of his body after his death, from 3 April, 1 Edward III., on which day they "were assigned to be in his company" at Kenilworth, until 21st September, when he died at Berkeley, and thence to 21st day of October, when they delivered his body to the Abbot of St. Peter of Gloucester, at Gloucester. They account for the receipt of 700*l.* and take credit for their payments for his expenses for 201 days at 100*s.* a day, viz. 1005*l.*, and so their expenditure exceeded their receipts by 305*l.* This balance I find from the records of the Exchequer was allowed to them in discharge of certain debts owing by them for custodies of lands due in the

Exchequer. Of the particulars of the account, unfortunately, there is no record, nor do the accountants refer to any such particulars; so that we have nothing to check the tale of the king's illusage, which has been told by the chroniclers. Rewards and grants were showered lavishly on Maltravers after the death of the king; and in 3 Edward III. we find him as steward of the household to queen Isabella, and receiving a grant of several manors forfeited by John Giffard.

We have on the Chancellor's Roll of 6 Edward III., amongst the records of the Court of Exchequer, the enrolment of the account of Hugh de Glaunvill, clerk, who was assigned, by patent dated 22nd October, 1 Edward III. to cause the body of the king to be brought from Berkeley castle to the abbey of St. Peter, Gloucester, and to pay the wages of those who were to stay with the body, and to pay other expenses for the keeping of the said body. And he accounts for payments made from 21st September until 20th December, when the body was buried. He accounts for various sums received from various quarters, amounting to 77*l.* 12*s.*, and takes credit for the following payments among others: To the bishop of Llandaff, who was ordered by the king to stay with the body at Gloucester until the funeral, viz. 13*s.* 4*d.* a day for his expenses from 21st day of October, when the body was taken from Berkeley to Gloucester, until the 10th November following; and for a further payment to the said bishop of 26*l.* for staying there from the 10th November to the 20th December. He paid to Robert de Hastang, knight, 11*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for staying with the body from the 20th October to the 23rd November, and a further sum of 8*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* for staying on until the 20th December. There are similar payments to Edmund Wasteneys knight; Bernard de Burgh, the king's chaplain; Richard de Potesgrave, called Byfleet, the king's chaplain; Bertrand de la More and John de Enfield, the king's serjeants-at-arms; and to Andrew, the king's *candelarius*; all these payments dating from 20th October. The body was given up by Berkeley and Maltravers on 21st October, and was brought to Gloucester on that day.

The next item of this account however dates back to the day of the king's death, viz., 21st September, and is a payment to William Beaukaire, the king's serjeant-at-arms, for staying at Berkeley and Gloucester with the body of the king (*juxta corpus regis*) from 21st September—the day of his death—until 20th December.

Now we have seen that Berkeley and Maltravers had the custody of the body from 21st September until the 21st October, during which time it must have been embalmed. Berkeley and Maltravers had their wages for the care of the king's body during this time, and we should have expected that they would have pro-

vided for the attendance of the body, and paid the wages of those who attended it. But here, in this account, we find that Beaukaire must have been at Berkeley with the king at the time of his death, and that he was a royal officer apparently independent of Berkeley and Maltravers, and if this were so, some doubt is thrown upon the suggestion that the unfortunate king was left wholly unprotected and unattended, at the mercy of his keepers, as the historians have stated. In the next item in the account, Glaunvill takes credit for his own wages from the 23rd October to the 20th December. He then further claims for four days after the burial of the king, when he was accounting with the king's ministers, and returning from Gloucester to Worcester, "bringing a certain woman who disembowelled the king to the queen by the king's order, for two days, staying there one day, and thence returning to York for four days"; and he refers for the item to the roll of particulars delivered by him into the Exchequer. Now this roll of particulars exists, and it is remarkable that the item for the journey to Worcester with the woman is entirely omitted from it. This, of course, may have been a purely accidental omission, which he may have corrected at the passing of his account; but the omission has a suspicious appearance, and it would look as though the suppression of the item was intentional. In the roll of particulars he charges for the four days after the funeral as spent in accounting with the king's ministers, and then charges for seven days going thence to York. Now, seven days is too long a period for such a journey, and it is just possible that the Barons of the Exchequer at the audit of the account may have inquired how those seven days were spent, and thus have elicited from the accountant that he spent two days taking the woman to Worcester. The alteration is suspicious. The motive for suppressing the fact is still more so, and gives rise to much speculation. Longman, in his *History of Edward III.*, p. 20, says that it is nearly certain that no suspicion that the king's death was caused by violence was entertained at the time, for the young king took no steps to inquire into the cause of his father's death; but this entry goes to show that he did take steps to inquire, and we may fairly surmise that a rumour having reached the king that his father had been barbarously murdered in the manner suggested by the historians, he had made inquiries—possibly at the instigation of the queen, and had sent the woman—who must have known the truth, if the tale of the historians is true—to prove to the queen the untruth of the story. It is impossible to conceive, if the result of his inquiry was to prove the truth of the hideous tale, that the king would have deliberately suppressed the fact; or, that if he had found it necessary to suppress it, he would have suborned the woman to perjure herself to the queen, when the simple course lay open to

him to get rid of the woman, and to assure the queen that no barbarous violence had been used. The other supposition must be, that the woman had deceived the king under threats from Gurney and Maltravers, and that the queen was *particeps criminis*, and wished to know the details of the king's death. Many other suggestions might be made. But on the whole, I think it is extremely difficult to suppose that if the queen was cognisant of the murder she would have run the risk of the discovery of her complicity in its guilt by this unknown woman, with whom she seems to have desired to hold converse. Of course, silence might be imposed upon such a woman by various means, but the danger of her knowledge leaking out was very serious, and the chance of her talking on the subject was greatly increased by her having been brought specially into the royal presence. Again, when the inquiry as to the murder of the king was made three years after in parliament, in 4 Edward III., this woman's evidence (supposing her to be still alive) would have been sought to procure the condemnation of the murderers, but there is no trace of it nor any reference whatever to the manner of the murder, so far as I can discover. It is merely said that Thomas Gurney and William de Ocle falsely and traitorously murdered him, and the only evidence that we have of the horrible tale is the gossip of the chronicler, told by him only as gossip, and the amplification of that gossip by Thomas de la More written twenty years after. Thomas de la More's tale smacks strongly of romance. The story that the keepers tried to shave the king with ditch water, and the small joke that the king cried out that he would have hot water whether they liked it or not, and then began to weep profusely, seem too ridiculous. It reminds one much of the narratives of the miracles of saints, and numerous similar tales may be found in the Polychronicon. It would be interesting to discover whether there was such a person as William Bischop, on whose testimony this tale is given, but whether there was such a person or not, unless the spiritualists will produce his ghost, I for one decline to believe it. Again, De la More's description of the message sent to Gurney and Maltravers in the ambiguous phrase "Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est," and the suggestion of what may be called a slip in punctuation whereby the king's keepers interpreted it into an order to kill him is another specimen of that species of medieval witticism with which old chronicles and tales abound, and cannot I think be taken as serious history by anyone; nor is it likely that anyone would have dared to write on such a subject, even in enigmas. Again, De la More's tale that the king was shut up in a chamber full of fœtid smells with a view to cause his death smacks strongly of the romancer. De la More moreover differs in two particulars from Murimuth's

tale, for he says that the king was smothered with great bolsters and heavy weights, and murdered by the insertion of a red hot plumbing iron through a tube passed into the *anus*, whereas Murimuth states that *dictum fuit vulgariter* that he was placed under a heavy door and killed with a heated spit, *veru*.

The inflated and pompous style of De la More does not add greatly to the credibility of his narrative. Whether he took the tale from the *vulgariter dictum* or how this *vulgariter dictum* came to be spread it is impossible to tell, but it is worthy of remark that one of the serjeants-at-arms who attended the king's body a month after his death was Bertrand de la More. I cannot discover that there is any connection between this person and William de la More. All that I can find about him is that in 20 Edward III. before the king's deposition, a pension of ten marks out of the fee-farm of the city of London was granted to him for good service. He may have heard the *vulgariter dictum* and may have told it "with advantages" to Thomas de la More assuming that they were connected. That the king was murdered in some way hardly I think admits a doubt. The fact of his body remaining for a month in the hands of Berkeley and Maltravers in the care of only a single serjeant-at-arms (Beaukaire), during which period it was secretly embalmed, and embalmed by a woman and not by the king's physicians, shows almost conclusively that there was good reason to conceal a crime, but that this crime was committed in the horrible manner which rumour has reported is I think scarcely credible. The art of poisoning, and secretly poisoning, was we may be assured as well understood at this period in England as in Italy, and the chance of detection in the then condition of medical knowledge was infinitesimal. We are told that many knights and burgesses of Gloucester and Bristol were called to view the body, but we are not told that the face of the corpse showed signs of the horrible and violent death which is assigned to it. On the contrary, historians have said that the face was peaceful in its expression. The object of the murderers was secrecy, and their desire was to produce every appearance of natural death. It is, I think, inconceivable that they would have had recourse to a form of torture which must have left unmistakeable marks of agony on the face of the deceased when their end might well have been attained by the administration of a simple narcotic. That Murimuth was right in saying that the rumour of the cause of death was spread gains in credence from the discovery of the before-mentioned account, but that it was anything but a rumour is, I think, not proven. If De la More's narrative be rejected, and I think after what I have said its credibility is rudely shaken, we have only Murimuth and his imitators to fall back upon, and he goes no further than that *vulgariter dictum fuit*.

We have no distinct evidence in these accounts that the knights and burgesses came to view the body, nor as to when they did so. It is clear, however, that it is meant that this inspection took place at Berkeley, but we have, unluckily, no particulars of Berkeley and Maltravers' account. In Glaunvill's account he charges for four great pieces of oak fit to be sawn into bars to resist the pressure of the crowding people, with the wages of the carpenters sawing them; but this seems to refer to something taking place at Gloucester, although it is not so actually stated.

There is one other fact in this mysterious case that must not be forgotten, viz. that Glaunvill's account was not passed in the Exchequer until 8 Edward III., seven years after the death of the king, and four years after the condemnation of his murderers. This circumstance is worthy of remark, but too much must not be made of it, as innumerable instances of accounts not passed for many years after they had been closed can be shown on the Exchequer rolls.

There is a legend that queen Isabella was buried at the Grey Friars, London, with the heart of her murdered husband on her breast. If this be true, it offers another solution of the visit of the woman to the queen, but hardly accounts for the king's order to send her.

As to the statement of historians that the king was buried secretly, this is a piece of romancing and imagination which is not to be laid at the door either of Murimuth or De la More, and the account of the keeper of the great wardrobe for 1 Edward III. will sufficiently refute that portion of the story.

The account of Thomas de Useflet, the supervisor of the great wardrobe for the year 1 Edward III. shows us very fully that the funeral of king Edward the Second was conducted with great pomp. There are charges for quantities of gold leaf for decorating with leopards the harness, four standards, and twenty pennants for the king's funeral. More gold leaf for decorating the coverings of the horses. Eight hundred gold leaves was used for the covering lying upon the body of the king at Gloucester. There are charges for robes of knights, and tunics. Also for four great lions made by the hands of John de Eastwick, painter, of the best gilt, with mantles upon them of the arms of the king of England, to be carried on four sides of the hearse, together with the making of four images of the Evangelists standing upon the hearse. Also for the making of eight angels censing with gold censers, and with two great lions rampant, otherwise called volant, *nobiliter deaurat.*, standing outside the hearse. There are large charges for the carriage of necessaries from London to Gloucester.

A careful perusal of the account shows the elaborate nature of the funeral. Sir John Darcy, knight, was appointed to provide and supervise the things

necessary for the obsequies, and was paid his wages at 13*s.* 4*d.* a-day from 22nd November to 21st December. The hearse appears to have been hired at London from Andrew, *candelarius*, but another seems to have been made between 24th November and 11th December.

Forty shillings was paid for carving a wooden image in the likeness of the deceased king, and a copper gilt crown for the same cost 7*s.* 3*d.* The sewing of the vestments in which the king was buried, together with a German coverchief, are charged for, but the account is decayed and I cannot read the amount. The account has been marked with gall, and has probably been referred to by some previous inquirers. It is marked as enrolled, but I have not discovered the enrolment.

I regret that I have not the leisure to work out the records relating to this period more carefully. Some future labourer may I hope be instigated by this attempt to complete the work. I cannot claim to have elucidated this difficult question to a very great extent, but I have appended to this paper copies of those accounts that remain on record as a guide to future students. I devoutly hope that further research and criticism may at last absolutely demonstrate that this awful tale of barbarous murder is only a " vulgariter dictum."

APPENDIX.

Chancellor's Roll, 1 Edw. III.

Compotus Thome de Berkele et Johannis Mautravers Philippi de Norwico attornati prefati, Thome sicut continetur in Memoranda de anno secundo Regis huius pro eodem Thoma de denariis eis pro expensis domini E. nuper Regis Anglie patris Regis huius liberatis de tempore quo iidem Thomas et Johannes in comitiva dicti patris extiterunt dum vixit ac eciam de tempore quo custodiam corporis sui post mortem suam habuerunt a tercio die Aprilis anno primo quo die iidem Thomas et Johannes assignati fuerunt esse in comitiva dicti Regis patris apud Kenilworth usque xxj diem Septembris proximo sequentem quo die idem Rex E. pater obiit apud Berkele et ab eodem xxj die Septembris usque xxj die Octobris proximo sequentem quo die liberaverunt corpus dicti defuncti Abbati Sancti Petri Gloucestrie apud Gloucestriam per breve Regis inter communia de anno secundo irrotulatum in Memoranda de eodem anno termino Sancte Trinitatis datum xv. die Maij dicto anno secundo per quod Rex mandavit Baronibus quod ipsi computent cum prefatis Thoma et Johanne de pecuniarum summis pro expensis dicti regis E. patris eis liberatis et eis C.s. quolibet die de tempore quo in comitiva ipsius patris dum vixit extiterunt et custodiam corporis sui post mortem suam habuerunt allocatis.

Iidem reddunt compotum de D. li. receptis de Johanne de Langeton per ipsum Thomam de Berkele super expensis dicti regis patris de quibusdam denariis nuper existentibus in Castro de Kaerfilly in custodia ipsius Johannis remanentibus sicut continetur in compoto eiusdem Johannis de denariis predictis et de quibusdam bonis et catallis in dicto Castro inventis in hoc Regis primo rotulo compotorum. Et de lxvj li. xiij s. iiij d. receptis per ipsos Thomam et Johannem de Thesauro Regis videlicet de Thesaurario et Camerario de Scaccario per manus Ricardi de Harsefeld vallecti predicti Thome xvj. die Julij dicto anno primo super expensis predictis. Et de xl li. receptis de Abbate de Chirburne de fine pro servicio suo in excercitu Scotie anno primo Regis huius per breve eidem Abbati super hoc directum. Et de lx li. receptis de Abbate Glastoñ de consimili fine pro servicio suo de dicto excercitu per consimile breve de Scaccario. Et de l. marcis receptis de Willelmo Trussel nuper Escaetore Regis ultra Trentam de exitibus ballive sue super eisdem expensis per consimile breve. Receptus.

Summa. DCC. li.

De quibus iidem computant in expensis dicti Regis Edward patris a tercio die Aprilis anno primo regis hujus quo die predicti Thomas et Johannes primo devenerunt in comitivam Regis apud Kenylworth usque xxj. diem Septembris proximo sequentem quo die obiit apud Berkle et ab eodem die usque xxj. diem Octobris proximo sequentem quo die corpus dicti defuncti liberatum fuit apud Gloucestriam Abbati Sancti Petri Glouc quo die ijdem Thomas et Johannes ulterius habuerunt custodiam corporis dicti defuncti per ccj. dies primo die computato pro quolibet die C.s. per predictum breve. Mł. v li.

Summa expensarum mł. v li. Et habet de superplusagio cccv li.

De quibus allocantur dicto Johanni in rotulo sequente in Item Suñt xxx li. pretextu brevis Regis inter communia de anno tercio et considerationis Baronum annotate in memoranda de anno tercio inter Recorda de termino Pasche. Et eidem Johanni in rotulo tercio in Suñt in firma Manerii de Alvyngtoñ xxx li. pretextu brevis predicti.

Enrolment on the Chancellor's Roll, 6 Edw. III. No. 125. Original MS. Exchequer Q. R. Wardrobe N. $\frac{5}{4}$.

Compotus Hugonis de Glaunvill clerici assignati ad corpus Regis E. patris Regis huius defuncti duci faciendum de Castro de Berkele vsque ad Abbatiam Sancti Petri Gloucestrie et ad solvenda vadia illis qui in comitiva dicti corporis proficisci deberent et morari et ad alias expensas factas que pro conservatione dicti corporis fieri oporteret per breve Regis patens datum xxij. die Octobris anno primo per visum et testimonium Ricardi de Byfleţ quem Rex assignavit ad dictas expensas supervidendas contrarotulandas et testificandas videlicet de vadiis solutis et aliis expensis necessariis per ipsum Hugonum factis a xxj. die Septembris dicto anno primo quousque xx. diem Decembris proximo sequentem quo die corpus dicti domini Regis sepeliebatur ibidem.

Recepta. Idem reddit compotum de C. s. receptis de Thesaurario et Camerario ad receptum Scaccarij xxiij die Octobris anno secundo incipiente super expensis et vadiis solvendis illis qui juxta corpus dicti Regis morabantur apud Gloucestriam sicut continetur in pelle memorandorum ad eandem receptum de termino Sancti Michaelis eodem anno et etiam in rotulo de particulis quem liberavit in Thesaurario. Et de xxviij li. vj s. viij d. receptis de Thoma de Rodburne vicecomite Glouc̃ super consimilibus expensis per breve regis de Scaccario eidem Thome de maiori summa directum et acquietanciam dicti Hugonis eidem factam sicut continetur ibidem. Et de xiij li. receptis de Ricardo Panos et Thoma de Rossele collectoribus veteris custume et noue in portu Bristoll super consimilibus expensis per aliud breve Regis de Scaccario eisdem collectoribus directum et acquietanciam dicti Hugonis eisdem factam sicut continetur ibidem. Et de xiiij li. receptis de Thoma Fairday et Henrico Lovecokę Collectoribus custume Regis in portu Exoñ super consimilibus expensis per tercium breve de Scaccario eisdem Collectoribus directum sicut continetur ibidem. Et de vj li. x s. receptis de prestito garderobe de Roberto de Wodehous custode garderobe Regis per manus Roberti de Scorland apud Wygorñ xxvj. die Decembris in perpacacionem vadiorum domini Edwardi de Wastenys pro mora sua juxta corpus Regis apud Gloucestriam sicut continetur ibidem. Et de viij li. xiij s. iiij d. receptis de prestito garderobe Regis de eodem Roberto in perpacacionem vadiorum domini Roberti de Hastañ morantis juxta corpus Regis apud Gloucestriam per manus eiusdem Roberti predicto xxvj. die Decembris, sicut continetur ibidem. Et de xlij s. receptis de prestito garderobe de eodem Roberto per manus Willelmi de Hillom apud North. xv. die Maij pro vadiis domini Bernardi Bergħ de Kyrkeby sicut continetur ibidem.

Summa Recepta lxxvij li. xij s.

Expense. De quibus idem compotat in solutione Johanni Landavensis Episcopo ordinato per dominum Regem ad morandum apud Gloucestriam juxta corpus dicti Regis patris usque ad funeracionem eiusdem percipiendam per diem xiij s. iiij d. pro expensis suis iuxta ordinacionem consilii apud Notingham quam diu moraretur ibidem videlicet a xxj. die Octobris quo die dictum corpus duce-

batur de Berkele ad Abbatiam Sancti Petri Glouc' usque x. diem Novembris proximo sequentem per xx dies utroque die comp xiij li. vj s. viij d. per literam Regis de privato sigillo et ij. acquitancias dicti Episcopi receptionem dictorum denariorum testificantes sicut continetur in dicto rotulo de particulis. Et eidem Episcopo commoranti ibidem a predicto decimo die Novembris usque xx. diem Decembris proximo sequente per xxxix. dies capienti per diem ut supra pro consimilibus expensis suis xxvj li. per compotum factum cum eodem apud Gloucestriam xxiiij. die Decembris anno primo sicut continetur ibidem. Et Roberto de Hastangs militi moranti ibidem per ordinacionem supradictam capienti per diem vj s. viij d. a. xx. die Octobris anno predicto usque xxiij. diem Novembris proximo sequentem per xxxiiij. dies primo die computato xj li. vj s. viij d. per literam Regis de privato sigillo et iiij. acquietancias dicti Roberti recepcionem dicte summe testificantes sicut continetur ibidem. Et eidem Roberto pro consimilibus expensis suis a predicto xxiij. die Novembris usque xx. diem Decembris proximo sequente per xxvj. dies per manus Roberti de Wodehous custodis garderobe Regis apud Wygorñ xxvj. die Decembris de qua summa dictus Hugo oneratur supra inter receptum denariorum viij li. xiij s. iiij d. sicut continetur ibidem. Et Edmundo Wasteneys militi moranti ibidem iuxta ordinacionem supradictam capienti per diem v s. a xx°. die Octobris anno predicto, usque xxiij. diem Novembris proximo sequentem per xxxiiij. dies primo die computato viij li. x s. per supradictam literam Regis de privato sigillo et acquietanciam dicti Edmundi receptionem dicte summe testificantem sicut continetur ibidem. Et eidem Edmundo a predicto xxiiij. die Novembris usque xx. diem Decembris proximo sequentem per xxvj dies per manus Roberti de Wodehous custodis garderobe Regis apud Wygorñ xxvj. die Decembris de qua summa dictus Hugo oneratur supra inter receptionem denariorum capiens per diem ut supra vj li. x s. sicut continetur ibidem. Et Bernardo de Bergh capellano Regis moranti ibidem per ordinacionem supradictam capienti per diem iij s a xx°. die Octobris anno predicto usque quintum diem Decembris proximo sequente per xlvj dies utroque die computato vj li. xviij s. per supradictam literam Regis de privato sigillo et iij acquietancias dicti Bernardi receptionem dicte summe testificantes sicut continetur ibidem. Et eidem Bernardo a predicto v. die Decembris usque xx. diem eiusdem mensis proximi sequentis per xiiij dies primo die computato per manus Roberti de Wodehous custodis garderobe Regis apud Wygorñ xxvj. die Decembris de qua summa dictus Hugo oneratur supra inter receptionem denariorum capiens ut supra xlij s. sicut continetur ibidem. Et Ricardo de Potesgrave dicto Byflete capellano Regis moranti per ordinacionem supradictam a xx°. die Octobris anno predicto usque v. diem Decembris proximum sequentem per xlvj dies utroque die computato capienti per diem iij s. vj li. xviij s. per supradictam literam Regis de privato sigillo et iij acquietancias dicti Ricardi receptionem dicte summe testificantes sicut continetur ibidem. Et eidem Ricardo moranti ibidem a predicto v. die Decembris usque xx. diem eiusdem mensis per xiiij dies primo die computato xlij s. per compotum cum eodem factum apud Glouc̃ xxij. die Decembris anno predicto sicut continetur ibidem. Et Bertrando de la More et Johanni de Enefeld̃ servientibus Regis ad arma et Andree Candelario Regis morantibus ibidem iuxta corpus Regis per ordinacionem supradictam a predicto xx. die Octobris anno predicto usque x. diem Decembris proximum sequentem per l. dies utroque die computato quorum quilibet cepit per diem xij d. per supradictum tempus vij li. x s. per supradictam literam regis de privato sigillo et ix. acquietancias eorundem receptionem dicte summe testificantes sicut continetur ibidem. Et eisdem morantibus

ibidem capientibus ut supra a predicto x. die Decembris usque xx. diem eiusdem mensis proximum sequentem per x. dies ultimo die computi xxx s. per computum factum cum eisdem apud Gloucestriam xvij. die Decembris anno predicto sicut continetur ibidem. Et Willelmo Beaukaire servienti Regis ad arma moranti apud Berkeley et Gloucestriam iuxta corpus Regis a die Sancti Mathei videlicet xxj. die Septembris quo die Rex obijt usque xx. diem Decembris proximum sequentem anno predicto capienti per diem xij d. per ordinacionem supradictam per iiij^{xx}. x. dies utroque die computato iiij li. x s. per literam Regis de priuato sigillo et acquietanciam eiusdem receptionem dicte summe testificantem. Et predicto Hugoni de Glaunuill clerico assignatur per Thesaurarium et Barones ad soluciones et expensas predictas faciendas pro vadiis suis a xxiij. die Octobris anno predicto quo die recessit de Eboraco versus Berkele et Gloucestriam eundo et morando ibidem circa sepulturam corporis Regis predicti usque xx. diem Decembris proximum sequentem per lx. dies utroque die computato x li. percipienti per diem iij s. iiij d. per consideracionem Baronum sicut continetur ibidem. Et eidem moranti apud Gloucestriam ad computandum cum ministris Regis per iiij^{or}. dies post sepulturam corporis dicti Regis et redeundo de ibidem usque [Wygorñ ducendo quandam mulierem que exviceravit Regem ad Reginam precepto Regis per duos dies morando ibidem per unum diem et abinde redeundo usque Eboř[a] per iiij^{or}. dies capienti vt supra xxxvj s. viij d. sicut continetur ibidem]. Et cuidam garcioni deferenti breve Regis et literam dicti Hugonis de Gloucestriam usque civitatem Oxoñ Thome Fairday et Henrico Loucokę collectoribus veteris et noue custume ibidem pro denariis ab eisdem habendis eundo et redeundo per x. dies ex conventione certa facta cum eodem ij s. vj. sicut continetur ibidem. Et cuidam garcioni eunti de Gloucestria usque Bristoll ad deferendum breve Regis et literam dicti Hugonis pro consimili causa eundo et redeundo per iij. dies vj d. sicut continetur ibidem. Et cuidam garcioni deferenti literam dicti Hugonis de Gloucestria usque Ebor Thesaurario et Baronibus de Scaccario ad certificandam eos de apparatu et ordinacionibus factis ibidem pro corpore Regis eundo et redeundo per x. dies xx d. sicut continetur ibidem. Et cuidam garcioni deferenti literam Regis de Gloucestria usque Londoñ Thome de Vseflete custodi magne garderobe Regis pro apparatu et alijs rebus ordinatis festinandis pro sepultura corporis dicti Regis et ducendis de Londoñ. usque Gloucesteriam eundo et redeundo per vij. dies xiiij d. sicut continetur ibidem. Et in iiij. magnis lignis de quercu aptis ad sarrandis ad barras factis pro claustura circa corpus Regis ad resistendam oppressionem populi irruentis una cum stipendis carpentariorum et sarratororum viij s. ix d. sicut continetur ibidem.

Summa expensarum cxviij li. vij s. xj d. Et habet in surplusagium xl li. xv s. viij d.

Attached to the original account is a writ dated York, 10 May, 8 Edward III., addressed to Richard de Potesgrave, called Byfleet, ordering him to attend before the Barons of the Exchequer with his controlments, and all other things touching the account of Hugh de Glaunvill, to assist in passing the said account in the Quinzaine of Trinity the next to come. Richard de Byfleet's controlment roll is attached to the original account, and is a copy of it.

[a] The original account reads, in place of the words within brackets, as follows :—

Eboř p vij. dies cap̃ ut sup[a] xxxv. s ix d.

XIV.—*Some remarks upon the Regia, the Atrium Vestae, and the original locality of the Fasti Capitolini.* *By* F. M. Nichols, *F.S.A.*

Read June 24, 1886.

Hic locus exiguus, qui sustinet Atria Vestae,
Tunc erat intonsi Regia magna Numae.
Ovid.

During my stay in Rome in the early part of this year I found time to examine and make some plans of a part of the excavations of the Forum, which had not before, so far as I know, been subjected to any very careful study; though the site is one of the most interesting and important even in that interesting locality,—the ground which immediately surrounds the remains of the temple of Vesta, the central hearth of the Roman people, and the place of deposit of their most venerable and sacred treasures.

The principal part of this ground has been excavated for some ten or twelve years, and is occupied by ruins belonging to various epochs; some of which are remains of tufo walls of a very remote antiquity, others constructions of concrete and brick ascribable to the later centuries of the empire or to a time when the ancient monuments were already in ruin; others, as will be seen, belonging to the time when Roman art was at its best; but all so fragmentary and confused that no one has hitherto had the patience to analyse them or to attempt to explain their history.

A slight extension of the excavation in a south-eastern direction led in 1882 to the discovery of the residence of the Vestal virgins, of which Professor Middleton has communicated to our Society a detailed description.[a] The

[a] *Archaeologia*, vol. xlix. p. 391.

complete revelation of the Vestals' House has placed in more striking contrast our ignorance respecting the ground more immediately surrounding the temple; and it is upon a part of this subject that I shall hope this evening to throw some light.

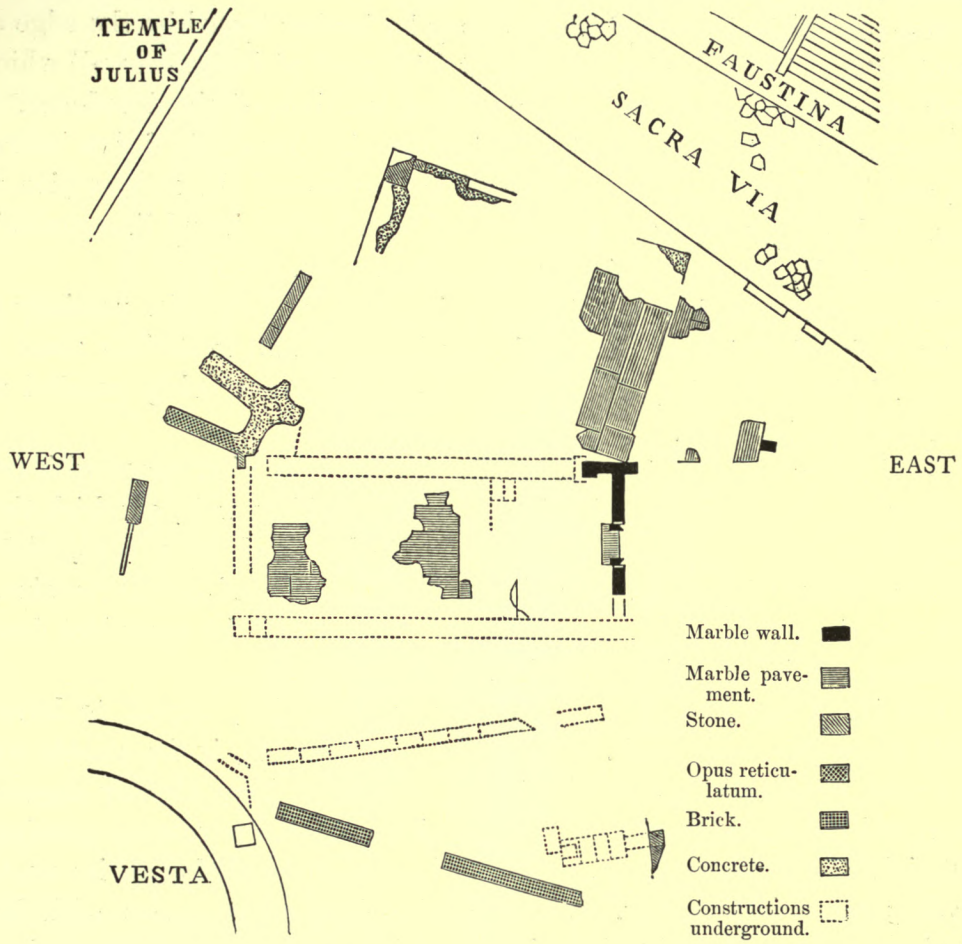
My first investigations were directed to the locality lying to the north-east of the Vestal temple, between that ruin and the temple of Faustina; and after a slight examination my pains were rewarded by a discovery which, if I mistake not, has turned out of considerable interest and importance. In this locality are the remains of a building, the most striking peculiarity of which is that it was constructed with walls of solid marble, and in this respect is unique among the existing remains of ancient Rome. The emperor Augustus is said to have boasted that he found Rome of brick and left it of marble: but it is well known that this exotic material was usually employed in Rome as a veneer over walls of stone or concrete; and even in monuments of the best time and most costly construction, as in the cell-wall of the temple of Mars Ultor, built by Augustus himself, the blocks of marble were only introduced in horizontal bands inserted in a wall of stone, which was covered in other parts with a stout facing of marble slabs.

When we consider the value and the facility of removal of the materials of the building which I have mentioned, we cannot be surprised to find that but a small part of its walls remains in position. Enough, however, has been found to indicate the plan of what appears to have been its principal room, and to give us some idea of the form and character of some adjoining apartments. The parts of which traces remain are the following :—

i. An area measuring (in the interior) 20 Roman feet by 50;[a] the four sides of which face the four cardinal points of the horizon, the longer sides being to the south and north. On the east side there remain the greater part of the lowest course of a marble wall and one stone of the second course, with a doorway in the middle 4 Roman feet wide, of which we still see the marble threshold and portions of marble jambs. At the north-east corner the lowest course of marble masonry is continued to the extent of about 3 feet on the north side. The walls on both these sides appear to have been the partition walls of a building, and not external walls, since they were only from 18 to 20 inches thick. The material is white marble, I believe of Lucca or Carrara. Within the space formerly included in these walls are considerable remains of a pavement formed of grey marble. Part of the pavement extends to a distance of 47 feet from the east

[a] I take the Roman foot at ·296 met. or 11·65 inches English.

wall, near which point the room appears to have ended, as there are remains of a foundation, beyond which the level of the ground falls about 3 feet.



Plan of ruins between the Temple of Vesta and the Sacred Way. Scale 1:300.

At the north-west corner is a small fragment of *opus quadratum* in travertine, which is parallel to the east and west sides of the room. This fragment is connected with a short wall of *opus reticulatum* of an early date (that of the commencement of the empire),[a] which runs off to the west in an oblique direction, and at a lower level than the principal ruin.

[a] On the north side of this wall (in the upper part, to the left) may be found some of those brick-shaped blocks of tufo which were employed as a framework to the *opus reticulatum*, before the use of bricks for this purpose.

ii. To the east of the area which I have described there appears to have been another room of the same width and of uncertain length, the former existence of which is shown by the extension of the north partition wall beyond the corner of the first room, (the line of which wall may be further traced by the edge of the pavement of area iv.) and also by the cast of a part of its south wall which has been left upon the concrete of a later wall of the time of the decadence.[a] The small fragment of the north wall of this room is composed of five courses of marble, and is the most perfect sample which remains of the construction of the building. This will be hereafter described. The two areas i. and ii. communicated with each other by the door which has been mentioned.

iii. To the north of the area first mentioned is a space still partially paved with large slabs of white marble,[b] having on its north and west sides some traces of the foundations of walls, those on the north side not being parallel to the partition wall on the south.

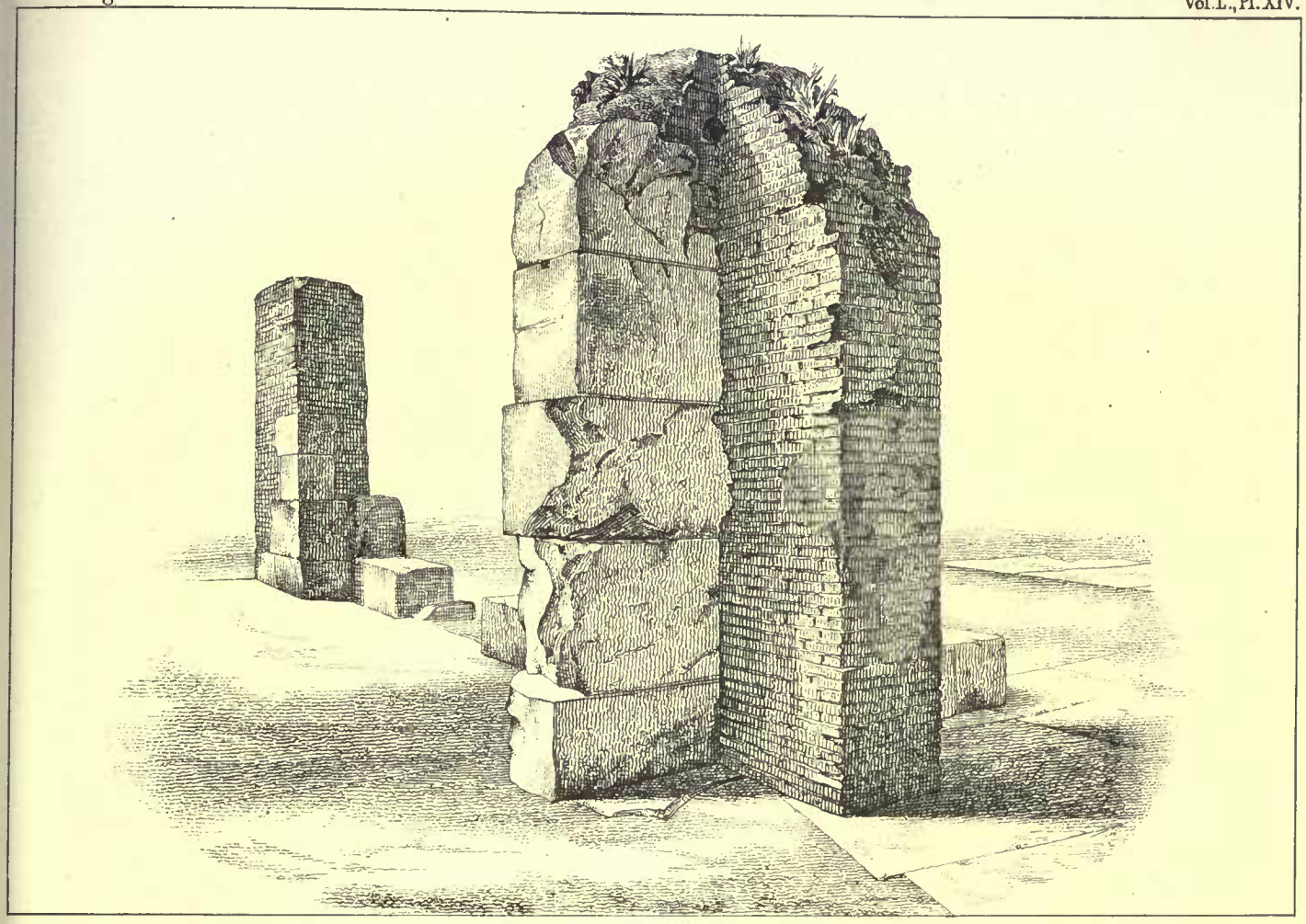
iv. To the north of the site of the second room is another space with remains of a pavement of grey marble, having on its east side a wall, of which the only remaining trace consists of a fragment of the marble jamb of a door, with some faint lines of a moulding on it. To the south no vestige of a wall remains. On the west side the pavement appears to have joined that of the space last described (iii.), without any intermediate partition.

iii. and iv. These two areas, though not rectangular, appear to have been originally covered in with roofs. This must have been so, if the marble wall, of which a part remains to the south of them, was, as I have already suggested, a partition, and not an external wall. The divisions of the pavement crossing each other at right angles in space iii. appear to have been parallel with its north and west walls; those in space iv. were parallel and at right angles with its east wall, and are not parallel with those in space iii.

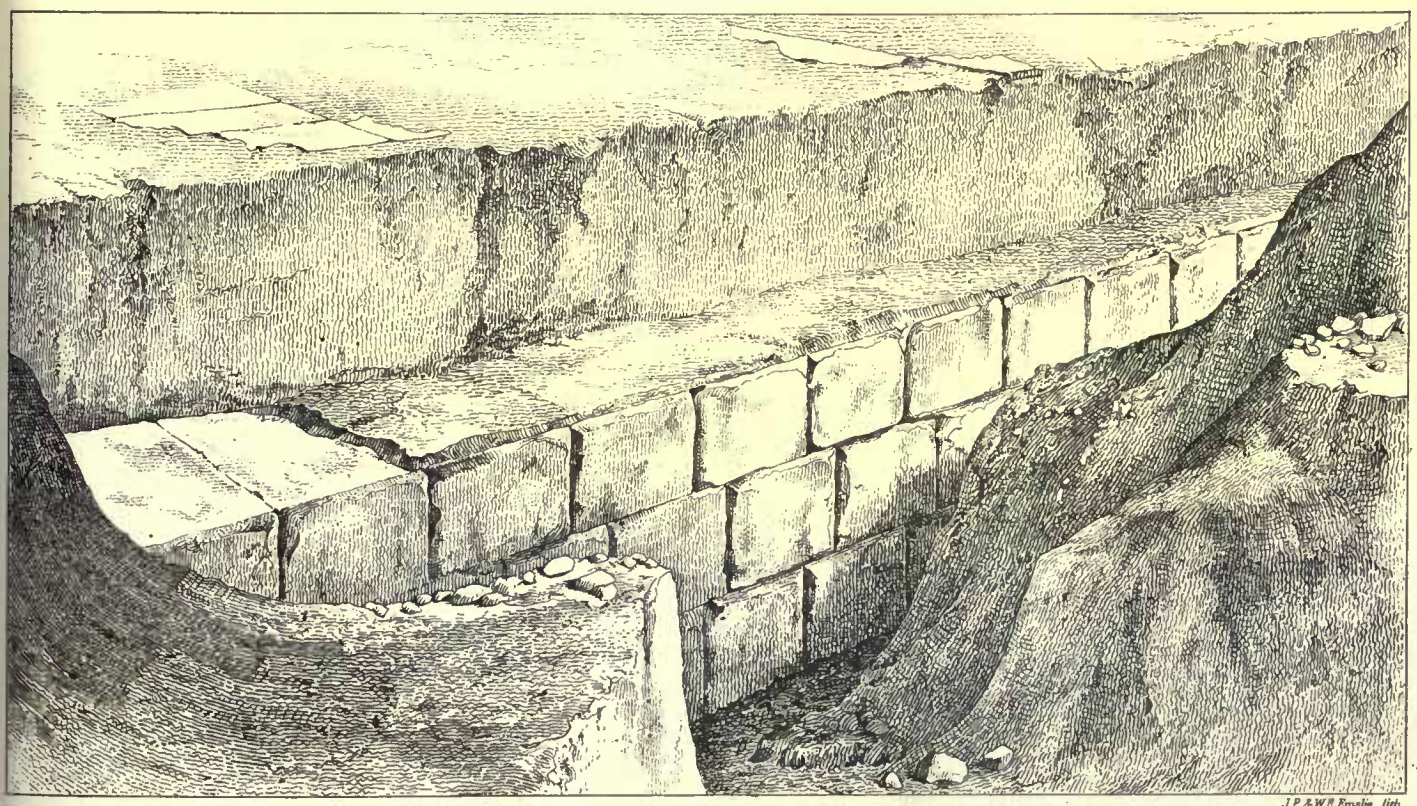
The character of the wall-construction is, as I have already mentioned, best seen in the fragment remaining at the north-west corner of the second room. This interesting relic of marble masonry has been preserved by the erection over it of a wall of brick and concrete at a time when the original building was already in ruins. Its condition at that time is shown by the brickwork being used to fill up the defects already existing in the masonry, and being continued on the top of the remaining courses of marble. The existing fragment is 8 feet 7 inches high,

[a] The more recent wall is omitted in the plan. Its remains extend in a direction from north to south over the ruins of the marble building. This is seen in the accompanying illustration.

[b] This pavement resembles in its material that on the east side of the temple of Faustina.



FRAGMENT OF MARBLE WALL.



J.P. & W.R. Emslie, lith.

TUFO SUBSTRUCTION OF MARBLE BUILDING.

composed of five courses, each block being from 22 to 23 inches in height, and the lowest course bedded about 8 inches below the surface of the pavement.[a] The blocks are all placed lengthwise, and vary from 44 to 46 centim. ($17\frac{1}{2}$ to $18\frac{1}{2}$ inches) in width across the wall,[b] presenting an even surface towards the north and an uneven surface to the south. The north side still retains some traces of a thin coating of original stucco. The joints are accurately worked, as in the best Roman masonry; and on the smooth side, towards the north, the horizontal joints are marked with a band $\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide, slightly sunk, along the bottom only of each block. No mortar was used.[c] Those who are familiar with Roman construction will recognise, in the description I have given, the character of the best period.

Another indication of the age of this building is furnished by the line of the axis of its principal apartment. The walls of the rectangular area to the south are not parallel to the Sacred Way, nor to the walls of the Vestals' House or the neighbouring constructions of the second or later centuries, but are parallel to those of the more ancient buildings at a lower level, between the Sacred Way and the Vestals' House, which were described by Mr. Middleton in his valuable paper to which I have already alluded. What relation those buildings had to that with which we are now dealing, I shall have to consider hereafter.

The remains which I have described are sufficient to show, that at least as early as the first century of the empire a monument of unusually costly construction occupied the narrow but important site between the temple of Vesta and the Sacred Way. These scanty remains were all that was visible when I called attention to this subject in Rome last March, and they are all that is visible now. But, in the meantime, a fresh excavation has been made, which has been since again covered in, and the results of which I must now proceed to explain.

I had pointed out that, in my judgment, a careful examination of this ground was unfavourable to the opinion—which had found considerable support among the Italian and German antiquaries, and which has also been accepted by our distinguished colleague Professor Middleton—that the Sacred Way, or its continuation through the Forum, passed at the close of the Republic and for some time later in front of the temple of Castor, and by the side of that of Vesta,

[a] The heights of the five courses, from the pavement, are 34, 58·5, 56, 56·5, and about 56 centimetres, the last being broken at the top.

[b] The length of the blocks cannot be given, owing to the small size of the fragment preserved.

[c] On re-examination, Jan. 1887, I find traces of a thin coat of fine cement in one of the joints. On one of the loose marble blocks of like dimensions lying near, there is not only the sunk band along the bottom, but also a vertical band (or false joint) across the face of the block.

instead of being diverted, as we now see it, across the Forum. My friend Professor Henry Jordan, our great authority on Roman topography, was one of those who had confidently adopted this opinion, aud when he came to Rome a little later, he was anxious to test at once by a more searching exploration the accuracy of my conclusions. At his instance, therefore, some further excavations were made, commencing to the south of the ruins to which I had called attention, upon the line where the Sacra Via was supposed to have passed. The result was to satisfy everybody that no road had passed in that direction, and to reveal the existence, below the surface upon its supposed line, of several ancient tufo walls belonging to buildings the plan and purpose of which remained for the most part obscure. One of them, however, was a long wall running from east to west at a distance of from 14 to 18 feet from the south side of the principal room of the building I have described, and touching at its western end the outer circle of the ruins of the Vestal temple. This may not improbably have been an ancient wall of inclosure of the *sacrum* of Vesta. Of this wall, built with blocks 55 centim. (about 21½ inches) wide and 55 centim. high, and from 3½ to 5 feet long, placed lengthwise, three courses still exist for a length of about 40 feet, the top of the highest course being about 3 feet below the later surface of the ground. The position of this, and of the other walls, is indicated in the plan.

The excavations having been continued on the site of the marble monument, the first result was to confirm the ground plan of the building as it had been laid out upon the evidence of the scanty relics which existed above ground. For on the north, south, and west sides of the principal rectangular area (i.) nearly the whole length of a foundation wall was disclosed, constructed with large blocks of tufo. The top of this wall was 85 centim. (about 2 feet 9 inches) below the pavement. Its construction was best shown on the south side, where not only the top course (as in other parts) was seen, but the outer face was exposed to view, consisting of three courses of well-jointed tufo masonry, composed of blocks, 89 centim. (3 Roman feet) long, 59 centim. (2 Roman feet) wide, and 42 centim. (16½ inches) high, all the blocks being placed with their lengths across the wall, and the face of each block somewhat bossy, with grooves carried along all the joints. It will be remembered that on this side the whole of the wall above ground had disappeared. Its position had been conjectured from slight indications, one of which was supplied by a fragment of the pavement which terminated on this line.[a] It is worth while to observe that the face of the

[a] This piece of pavement, which is shown (but with the shading omitted) in this place (p. 229), has been lost in the excavation.

underground wall was only about 69 centim. (2 feet 3 inches) in advance of the edge of the pavement which marked the limit of the interior of the room. If this wall had been originally built as the foundation for the external wall of the marble room above, we might have expected to see its face more advanced, since the wall above would probably have had a thickness of more than two feet; and the foundation, which now extends 20 centim. (about 8 inches) under the pavement, would rather have been brought out in front of the foot of the wall. This consideration, and, I may add, also the character of the tufo construction,[a] make it probable that the underground walls formed originally the base of an earlier building, having the same ground plan as the marble monument, for the foundation of which they were also used.[b] On the top of these three courses of tufo, both here and throughout all the foundation, was spread a thin layer of hard concrete of an uniform pinkish-purple colour, made of red tufo, which appears to have formed the commencement of the later building. The blocks of travertine or marble which were placed over this concrete have been generally removed; but at the north-east corner the lowest marble block was seen to rest upon a block of travertine 70 centim. (2 feet $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches) long, 35 centim. wide, and 56 centim. (22 inches) high, placed crosswise on the bed of purple concrete. The underground wall at the west end extended under the fragment of travertine masonry, which has been mentioned as existing at the north-west corner.[c]

Besides these foundations, which completed the circuit of the principal area (i.) (the remaining side on the east having its wall distinctly marked above), remains were also found of a tufo wall at the same level, crossing the area at a distance of 4·77 metres (15 feet 7 inches, or 16 Roman feet) from the east wall. This appears to indicate that the space, which we have hitherto spoken of as the principal room or area (i.) was divided into two parts by a partition wall carried across it in this line. And that this arrangement belonged to the later, as well as to the more ancient disposition of the space, is made probable by the form of the remaining pavement, in which the slabs of grey marble were arranged in longitudinal bands, the transverse divisions occurring generally at irregular intervals. At this part, however, two parallel continuous lines of division appear

[a] The material did not appear to me to resemble the tufo generally used in the public buildings of the time of Julius and Augustus; and the height of the blocks is not that which was usual at that time, about two Roman feet.

[b] It may be conjectured that this fine tufo masonry belonged to the rebuilding of the Regia which took place, A.U. 544, B.C. 209, after the fire of the year before. (Liv. xxvii. 11.) See further on, p. 243.

[c] See before, p. 229.

to have been carried across the area, at about equal distances on each side of the underground wall. The lines are 2·38 metres (7 feet $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches) apart, of which about 20 inches may have been occupied by the partition; there would therefore remain about a yard on each side to be filled by slabs of pavement arranged transversely along the edge of each compartment.

I have said enough of these excavations to show their general results and their bearing upon the character and plan of the marble building. A more detailed account of them is being prepared by Professor Henry Jordan, and will appear shortly in the *Bulletin* of the Archaeological Institute of Rome.

I may now at last proceed to the question, whether the building whose remains I have described can be identified with any known monument of antiquity.

It will not, I think, require much argument to show that these remains of an early date and sumptuous construction, situated at the end of the Sacred Way, between that road and the temple of Vesta, and immediately behind the temple of Julius, must have formed part of the Regia. That this monument was one of the group of buildings surrounding the temple of Vesta is shown, among other evidence, by Plutarch's statement that Numa built the Regia near the temple of Vesta,[a] and by Ovid's often-quoted description of the locality—

> Hic locus est Vestae, qui Pallada servat et ignem :
> Hic fuit antiqui regia parva Numae.[b]

That it stood on the edge of the Forum and at the bottom of the Sacred Way, and was in the time of the Republic the first building abutting on that road as it was entered from the Forum, is shown by the passage of Festus in which the Sacra Via, in its ordinary sense, is defined as extending *from the Regia* to the house of the Rex Sacrificulus, while in the corresponding passage of Varro the same stretch of road is described as reaching *from the Forum* to the first hill.[c] Another distinct evidence as to its position shows that it was close to the temple of Julius. For the historian Appian tells us that the body of Caesar was burnt

[a] *Ἐπεὶ δὲ διεκόσμησε τὰς ἱεροσύνας, ἐδείματο πλησίον τοῦ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱεροῦ τὴν καλουμένην Ῥηγίαν, οἷόν τι βασίλειον οἴκημα· καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον αὐτόθι διέτριβεν ἱερουργῶν . . . οἰκίαν δ' εἶχεν ἑτέραν περὶ τὸν Κυρίνου λόφον.* Plutarch, *Numa*, 14.

[b] Ovid, *Trist.* iii. l. 29.

[c] Ut vulgus opinatur, Sacra appellanda est [via] a Regia ad domum Regis sacrificuli. Festus, ed. Müll. 290.

Huius Sacrae Viae pars haec sola volgo nota est, quae est a foro eunti primore clivo. Varro, *L. L.* v. 47.

in the Forum, where the Romans had their ancient Regia; and that the temple of Julius was placed on the same spot.[a] There is one site only that answers these descriptions, and that is the position of the ruins which I have described.

The Regia was rebuilt in the time of Augustus by Cnaeus Domitius Calvinus, who devoted to it the greater part of the *aurum coronarium*, which he received on account of his Spanish triumph (A.U. 718);[b] and there can be little doubt that the marble edifice belonged to this restoration. We have the evidence of Tacitus that it was burnt with the Vestal temple in the fire of Nero. But these monuments were on the limit of the conflagration, the buildings to the east being destroyed and those to the west saved; and there is reason to believe that some of the walls at least of the building of Calvinus survived uninjured until the close of the Roman empire.[c]

No antiquary will be surprised to hear that, when I had ascertained the existence and character of this unique building with its walls of marble, my attention was at once directed to the question, whether these walls were those upon which the Capitoline Fasti were originally inscribed, the principal fragments of which were discovered in the sixteenth century in this part of the Forum. These famous records, which contain lists of consuls and of triumphs, composed, as appears from internal evidence, in the time of Augustus, are incised, not on slabs but on blocks of marble which evidently formed part of the walls of some public edifice; and the character of their contents has led some of the ablest

[a] Ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν αὖθις ἔθεσαν [τὸ λέχος τοῦ Καίσαρος] ἔνθα τὸ πάλαι Ῥωμαίοις ἐστὶ βασίλειον, καὶ . . . ἐξῆψαν . . Ἔνθα βωμὸς πρῶτος ἐτέθη, νῦν δ' ἐστί νεὼς αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος. Appian, *Bell. Civ.* ii. 149.

[b] Τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖον [τοῦ χρυσίου] ἐς τὸ βασίλειον [ἀνήλωσεν]. Κατακαυθὲν γὰρ αὐτὸ ἀνῳκοδόμησε καὶ καθιέρωσεν, ἄλλοις τέ τισι λαμπροῖς κοσμήσας καὶ εἰκόσιν ἃς παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὡς καὶ ἀποδώσων ᾐτήσατο. Dion. Cass. xlviii. 42.

[c] Now that we have discovered this important edifice built of solid marble, we are led to inquire, what other monuments were built in the same way. There is no reason to suppose that the great temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, dedicated by Catulus A.U. 685, had walls of marble. The first great temple built with Greek materials appears to have been that of Venus Genetrix, dedicated by Cæsar about A.U. 710, and it is not improbable that its walls were, after the Greek fashion, of solid marble. Ovid calls it *factum de marmore templum* (*Ar. Am.* i. 83); and Palladio speaks of the vast quantity of marble found in its ruins (*Architettura*, lib. iv. c. 31). The next great temple was that of Divus Julius. We have no sufficient evidence of its construction. This temple and the Regia were both dedicated A.U. 718. The next great temple was that of the Palatine Apollo, dedicated by Augustus A.U. 726. Ovid's description of its glittering exterior, *intonsi candida templa dei*, leaves its construction uncertain; but Prof. H. Jordan has called attention to the fact, that Servius attests its being built *de solido marmore*. (Serv. *ad Aen.* viii. 720.) The later temples of Augustus, if we may judge by that of Mars Ultor, had their walls cased only with marble. One antique building of uncertain date, the round temple near the river commonly called the temple of Vesta, has its cell-wall of solid marble.

of recent archaeologists to conjecture, that the building on which they were inscribed was the Regia. This opinion appears to have been first suggested by Piale in 1827. It has in late years been supported by the high authority of Detlefsen, of Henzen, and of Henry Jordan; while on the other hand a distinguished Roman antiquary, Professor Lanciani, has lately maintained that the original position of these marbles was on the podium of the temple of Julius.[a]

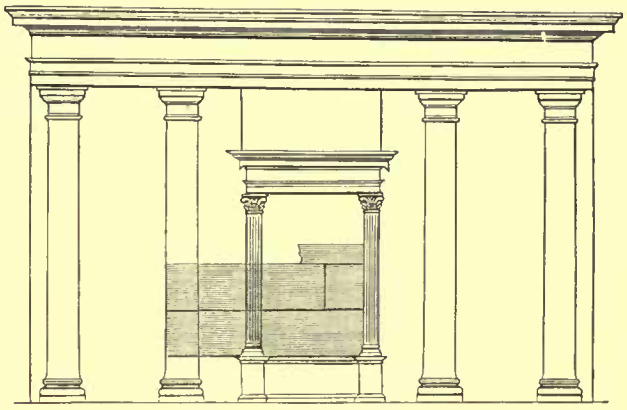
The Regia was the official quarters of the college of *Pontifices*. It was there that they held their meetings;[b] and it was doubtless there that they kept their archives, which included not only the records of the proceedings of the college (*acta pontificum*), and the *decreta* and *responsa* given by the pontiffs upon questions of religious and ceremonial law (*commentarii pontificum*),[c] but the materials also of the Roman calendar, part of which consisted of the *Fasti Consulares*, or lists of consuls, who gave their names to each year. It was a known practice with the ancients to inscribe on the external walls of their public buildings some records connected with the purpose to which they were devoted. I need hardly refer, as a Roman example, to the Arval records, which were found inscribed on the walls of the round temple of the Dea Dia, belonging to the college of *Fratres Arvales*.

The history of the discovery of the principal marbles of the Capitoline Fasti is soon told. In the middle of the sixteenth century those parts of the city in which it was known that important ancient buildings had stood were systematically and by public authority converted into quarries for the sake of the old materials. The marble blocks and fragments which came to hand were used, according to their size and quality, either for statuary, for architectural decoration, or for making lime, the smaller pieces being naturally devoted to the last purpose. In an excavation of this kind, made in 1546 *in front of the temple of Faustina*, some of the savants of the time fortunately observed that among the pieces of marble which were being carried off to the lime-kiln were several inscribed stones, which were found to contain parts of lists either of consuls or of triumphs. The work of destruction was stayed, and the Cardinal Alexander Farnese was induced to direct a careful search to be made and trenches to be dug, for the purpose of collecting all that could be found of these important records. At the cost of the same cardinal the marbles which were recovered were, under the direction of Michael Angelo, arranged and built into the marble wall, which still forms one side of the room of the Fasti in the Palace of the Conservators on the Capitol.

[a] Piale, *Terme Traiane*, p. 20; Lanciani, *Atrio di Vesta* (1884), p. 46. [b] Plin. *Ep.* iv. 11.

[c] Cic. *pro domo sua*, liii. 136. See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii. 287.

On examination of these marbles it is seen that, while a great number of them are mere fragments, an important part consists of several massive blocks, measuring about 2 Roman feet in height, and the largest of them from 7 to 9 feet in length, which form together a coherent portion of the original wall, and which we may therefore conjecture to have been discovered *in situ*. This



Marble wall of the Stanza dei Fasti. Scale 1:100.[a]

supposition is confirmed by the evidence of an eye-witness, Panvinius, who expressly asserts, that the fragments which remain of the third table of consuls had not before been moved from their original position, and that skilful architects were thus enabled to make a draft of the original architectural design. This draft supplied in some measure the material for the restoration now seen in the Stanza dei Fasti.[b] Pirrho Ligorio, another eye-witness, also states that the excavations disclosed part of the building *in opera*; and, he adds, that they were continued until all the walls were removed down to the foundations.[c]

Fortunately the portion of wall which has been preserved in a compara-

[a] In the illustration above, the shaded part represents some of the original blocks of marble.

[b] Ea fragmenta, ruderibus ante templum Faustinae inter forum et Sacram viam (ut nunc in urbe mos est) egestis, casu inventa sunt, anno MDXLVII. In quibus quae ex tertia tabula supersunt fragmenta loco antiquo adhuc mota non fuerant; unde et ipsarum tabularum haec descriptio a peritissimis architectis formata fuit. Panvinius in praefat. ad Comm. in Fastos.

[c] Si scopersero le piante e parte delle rovine scritte a terra, e parte in opera. Per questo restarono a spiantare fino alli fundamenti il rimanente. (Ligorio, MS. cited by Fea, *Illustrazioni sui Fasti, Roma*, 1820.) Ligorio gives the precise date of the discovery as follows: Scoperto il dì xv. di Agosto del M.D. xlvi. e finito di spiantare infra giorni xxx. (Title to plan, *Antichità*, MS. vol. 15, p. 125.)
See p. 246.

tively perfect state is sufficient to furnish us with the dimensions of the compartments into which the original wall was divided and some of their architectural details; and from these materials, combined with calculations founded on the length of the records for which space was to be found, the form and arrangement of the walls on which the Fasti were inscribed has been conjectured with considerable approach to certainty. This subject is ably discussed by Professor Henzen in his preface to the Fasti in the *Corpus Inscriptionum*. To sum up as shortly as possible the conclusions which have been arrived at—the Fasti Consulares were inscribed in four tables, inclosed within architectural frames composed of two small Corinthian pilasters with an entablature above; and the triumphs were inscribed upon four pilasters (which had Roman-Doric capitals) placed on either side of the frames of consuls. The existing specimen of the original wall exhibits part of the third frame of consuls and of the pilasters on each side of this frame, the architectural compartment thus formed measuring 13 feet in width, including both pilasters. But in any attempt to reconstruct the entire wall it is necessary to observe, that the pilaster found to the left of the third table of consuls appears to have been inscribed with the earliest triumphs. It follows from this circumstance that there was no pilaster of triumphs on either side of the first table of consuls, while to the right of the fourth table (supposing this to be placed next to the third with one intermediate pilaster) we have to find place for two inscribed pilasters.

In order to form a judgment whether any of the walls of the building which has been described were the original walls of the Fasti, I proceeded to compare the dimensions of a wall constructed according to the data already mentioned with the length of the walls of the principal area on the south side of the building.

The north and east walls of that area were, as I have shown, partition walls. But those to the west and south were external walls, since the building, having regard to the position of the temple of Vesta and other circumstances, cannot be supposed to have extended further in those directions. And these walls were those which faced the Forum. On comparing their dimensions with those obtained from the remains of the Fasti, it is found that a wall containing four architectural compartments, such as those containing the Fasti, with the pilasters on each side of them, would occupy nearly the length of the south wall. But, as the fact that there were three pilasters to the right of the third table of consuls implies that one of the later compartments was occupied, not by a table of consuls, but in some other way—probably by a door—the four tables of consuls cannot all have found place on this wall. If, however, it be assumed that the first table

of consuls was placed on the west wall, and that the series was continued in three compartments on the south, the external door of the building being in the last compartment in the direction of the Vestals' house, the length of the two external walls would be well adapted to their supposed purpose. The supposition that the first table was placed by itself on the west wall may in some measure account for the list of triumphs not being commenced on either side of it.[a]

It should be observed that the height of the pilasters used on the wall of the Fasti—about 14 feet including the base and capital—which would be unsuitable for a large edifice, is well adapted to the architecture of a building of the dimensions suggested by the remains on the ground.

I may add here that the cast of a part of the southern wall, which I have mentioned as existing on a later work of concrete, shows the blocks used in it to have been two Roman feet in height, a dimension which agrees with that found in the blocks of marble preserved in the room of the Fasti; and that the kind of marble used for the wall of the Fasti appears to have been similar to that of the remains existing upon the ground.

I do not suppose that any doubt will remain in the minds of those who have taken the trouble to follow these observations, that the marble building which was so carefully excavated in the sixteenth century in front of the temple of Faustina, and from which the marbles of the Fasti were taken, was the same as that of which I have described the scanty ruins which now remain *in situ*. It will be remembered that Ligorio states that the building was then dug out and removed, down to the foundations. The present condition of the ruins shows the literal truth of this statement. The tufo foundations remain, but every block of marble and of travertine has been removed from them, with the exception of those which appear to have been protected by the later brick wall. To the accident of this wall having been built across the ruin in an early period of its decay we now owe the possibility of identifying the site and recovering in some measure the design of one of the most interesting monuments of ancient Rome.

The conclusion to which these comparisons naturally lead is in harmony with the opinion of those archaeologists who, upon what may be called *a priori* reasoning, have conjectured that the *Fasti Consulares* were inscribed on the Regia; and if the probability of this conjecture is admitted, the same conclusion serves on the other hand to confirm the identification of the building.

[a] See the attempted restoration at p. 247.

We may now return to consider more precisely what was the character of the building called the Regia. The Regia, in its proper sense, was the public office and sanctuary of the *pontifices*, and contained, as far we know, the following particulars:

i. A room used as a place of meeting by the pontiffs; of which use we have evidence of the time of Domitian.[a]

ii. A *tabularium* or registry for the custody of their records.[b]

iii. A *sacrarium* or chapel of Mars, in which were deposited the "spears of Mars," the mysterious movement of which was a prodigy requiring an expiatory ceremony.[c]

iv. A *sacrarium* of the goddess Ops Consiva, into which no one but the Vestal virgins and the pontifex was permitted to enter.[d]

v. In some part of the precinct were two sacred bay trees.[e]

The *sacra* included were probably of small dimensions, and the whole building appears to have occupied a very limited space. This fact is pressed upon our attention by Ovid, whenever he mentions the Regia. He says in the Tristia[f]:—

Hic fuit antiqui regia *parva* Numae.

And in another poem he describes the whole site as "a tiny spot"—

Hic *locus exiguus*, qui sustinet Atria Vestae,
Tunc erat intonsi regia magna Numae.[g]

It need scarcely be said that the word *magna*, in this connection, implies the reverse of its proper sense.

The several rooms which I have mentioned may all have been included in the marble building, which evidently consisted of several chambers of moderate size, the distinct uses of which may perhaps be hereafter conjectured. It is an interesting speculation, whether the principal room, on the walls of which the Fasti were probably inscribed, witnessed the *cenae pontificum*, alluded to by Horace. Macrobius has preserved an account of one of these banquets, at which Caesar was present, not as Pontifex Maximus, but as one of the college, and four vestals with two other ladies sat at the third *triclinium*.[h]

Beside these several apartments, it has been commonly assumed that the name of Regia was also applied to the house occupied by Caesar as Pontifex

[a] Plin. *Epist.* iv. 11.
[b] See before, p. 235.
[c] Aul. Gell. iv. 6.
[d] Varro, *L. L.* vi. 3 (57).
[e] Iul. Obseq. 19.
[f] *Tristia*, iii. l. 30.
[g] Fasti, vi. 263.
[h] Macrob. iii. 13, 11.

Maximus, and that the chapter-house of the college of *Pontifices* and the residence of the chief pontiff were parts of the same building.

It is an obvious remark, that a building which contained not only the offices and *sacraria* which have been mentioned, but also the residence of a personage of the habits of Caesar, at a time when the palaces of the principal Roman nobility were remarkable for their grandeur and magnificence, could not have stood on the site with which we have been dealing; nor, indeed, could it have occupied a *locus exiguus* in any position. And when we consider the extreme jealousy of the Romans about everything connected with the title of Rex, it is not, *a priori*, probable that they would permit the house of the Pontifex Maximus to be called by the name of Regia, especially as the titular office of Rex, though preserved for certain special sacred purposes, was, apparently for reasons of policy, not united with that of Pontifex.[a]

It is during the pontificate of Caesar that the official dwelling-house first becomes known to history. Suetonius tells us that Caesar had dwelt in the Subura in a house of moderate size, but that after he became Pontifex Maximus he lived in the Sacred Way, at the official house (*domo publica*).[b] In the letters of Cicero, and in the orations attributed to him, Caesar's residence is called *domus pontificis maximi*,[c] or *domus Caii Caesaris*.[d] So Plutarch, in relating the scandal of Clodius, calls it οἰκία Καίσαρος; and Pliny records the fact of Caesar having spread an awning over the Sacra Via and the Forum "from his house" (*ab domo sua*) to the Capitol, on the occasion of a gladiatorial entertainment which he gave in the Forum.[e] If this house had been generally known as the Regia, it seems probable that in some at least of these places it would have been called so.

The principal authority, the only authority, I think, in any classical writer,

[a] It is worth while upon this point to look back at the passage of Plutarch in which he describes the foundation of the Regia. (See note before, p. 234.) He says literally: "When Numa arranged the priestly services, he built him, near the *sacrum* of Vesta, the Regia, so called as a sort of royal mansion; and for the most part he passed his time there performing his religious duties; but he had another dwelling-house on the hill of Quirinus." We cannot doubt that Plutarch had in his mind the Regia of his own day, when he pictures Numa's Regia rather as a place where he attended to the duties afterwards assigned to the Pontifex Maximus, than as a palace for habitation.

[b] Habitavit primo in Subura modicis aedibus: post autem pontificatum maximum in Sacra via domo publica. Suet. *Caes.* 46.

[c] Cic. *de har. resp.* iii. 4; *pro domo sua*, xxxix. 104.

[d] Cic. *ad Att.* i. 12, 4; apud Caesarem, *ib.* i. 13, 3.

[e] Plin. *H. N.* xix. 6. We may observe in passing, that the Regia was certainly on the edge of the Forum, and the passage of Pliny appears to indicate that Caesar's house was somewhat further up the Sacred Way.

which has led us hitherto to believe that the residence of the Pontifex was called Regia, is the letter of Cicero to Atticus, in which, writing after the battle of Pharsalus, when the opponents of Caesar were forced to court his protection, the writer says that he hears his correspondent had been seen at the Regia.[a] This has been naturally understood to mean that Atticus had been to pay his respects at Caesar's house; and therefore that the *domus publica*, at which, as we know from Suetonius, Caesar lived, was the Regia. Two other interpretations, however, are possible; one, that Caesar received his ceremonial visitors, not at his dwelling, but at the Regia; the other, that Cicero, alluding to the house of the Pontifex Maximus, which was in the Sacra Via, and not improbably the next building to the Regia, used the latter name in an invidious sense, which would be easily understood by his correspondent.[b]

The house of the Pontifex Maximus was, as we learn from Dio, given up to the Vestals by Augustus.[c] But the Regia long survived, and is mentioned as an existing and distinct monument in the first and second centuries by Plutarch and by the elder and the younger Pliny,[d] and in the third century by Solinus;[e] while the walls which were dug up in the sixteenth century, and the remains which we still see upon the ground, show that it lasted until the ruin of the Forum. I may mention that the distinction here drawn between the Regia and the house of the Pontifex is, in some measure, supported by the high authority of Professor Henry Jordan.[f]

It seems not improbable that the remains of the house with the travertine columns, (lying between the Sacra Via and the house of the Vestals,) to which Professor Lanciani and others have given the name of Regia, and which Mr. Middleton has so admirably illustrated in the *Archaeologia*, are indeed, as has been supposed, relics of the ancient official residence of the Pontifex Maximus; the

[a] Visum te aiunt in Regia, nec reprehendo. . . . Caesar mihi ignoscit per literas quod non venerim. *Epist. ad Att.* x. 3.

[b] There is a passage of Servius, in which the Regia is described as the actual residence of the Pontifex, and the former residence of the Rex Sacrificulus. Such a statement cannot have much authority. Domus enim in qua pontifex habitat Regia dicitur, quod in ea rex sacrificulus habitare consuesset. Serv. ad Aen. viii. 363.

[c] Dion. Cass. liv. 27.

[d] Plutarch. *Quaest. Rom.* 97; Plin. *H. N.* xxxiv. 18; Plin. *Ep.* iv. 11.

[e] Regia quae adhuc ita appellatur. Solin. i. 21. The letters EGIA, as Professor Jordan has observed, found on a fragment of the Capitoline plan, show its existence in the time of Septimius Severus.

[f] Jordan, *Topographie*, i. 2, 426.

foundations of which, in the later arrangement of the ground, were partly absorbed in the Vestals' house, and partly covered over by other buildings.[a] I have already alluded to these remains as being built upon the same parallels as the Regia; and I may say in passing, that the axis of these buildings has nothing to do with any ancient course of the Sacred Way, as some archaeologists have suggested, but probably had relation to the orientation of the temple of Vesta, as the entrance of that temple appears to have been placed—possibly for some religious reason—upon an axis drawn from east to west, to which that of the other early buildings belonging to the Vestal group correspond.

The distance between the ruins of the travertine columns and the existing remains of the Regia is about 90 feet; and supposing the house to have extended to the Sacra Via, it was probably the next building on that road, with nothing between it and the Regia except the public footway, which appears to have passed between the Regia on the one side, and the Vestal temple and the Vestals' house on the other.[b]

As a matter intimately connected with the topography of the Regia, I will take the liberty of adding an observation respecting the proper meaning of the expression Atrium Vestae. It is with great deference to the opinion which has been accepted by more competent authorities that I venture to suggest that this name belongs, not, as has been generally thought, to the Vestals' house, but to the Regia itself, or to some principal apartment in it.

When Livy relates, that in the fire which occured A.U. 543 (B.C. 210), the *Atrium Regium* was destroyed, together with the buildings on the north side of the Forum, but the temple of Vesta was saved,[c] it has not been doubted that the monument intended was the Regia; which stood on the north of the temple, while the Vestals' house was on the south-east of it. In this instance the epithet *Regium* has prevented misconstruction.[d] But the identity of the Atrium Vestae with the Regia is expressly asserted by Ovid in the passage already cited:—

[a] Beyond the house with the travertine columns are the remains, at the like lower level, of another large house, which in Mr. Middleton's plan are also marked *Regia.*

[b] The existence of this footway is shown by the passage in Martial, which describes the way from the Forum, up the Sacra Via, to the Palatine—

> Quaeris iter? dicam, vicinum Castora canae
> Transibis Vestae, virgineamque domum. Martial, *Ep.* i. 71, 3.

The same way appears to be implied in Horace's *ventum erat ad Vestae.* *Sat.* I. vii. 35.

[c] Liv. xxvi. 27.

[d] The word *atrium* was used in the names of other public buildings of Rome, as *Atrium Liber-*

Hic locus exiguus qui sustinet Atria Vestae
Tunc erat intonsi regia magna Numae.[a]

And the manner in which Servius speaks of the Atrium Vestae as an augurated place in which the senate might be convened, whereas the temple of Vesta was not augurated and could not be a meeting-place of the senate, apparently, as he supposed, because of the presence of the Virgins there,[b] shows at any rate that the writer of that commentary did not identify the Atrium Vestae with the Virgins' house.

The latter conception of the Atrium has arisen, I believe, out of the interpretation of two passages, one of Aulus Gellius and the other of the younger Pliny, which I will proceed to examine. Gellius says, that a Vestal virgin, when she is "taken" (the technical term for her acceptance into the priesthood), and brought into the Atrium Vestae, and delivered to the pontifices, is released from the power of her father.[c] Here the words *in atrium deducta* have been referred to the entrance of the virgin into the conventual home of the Vestals; but taken in conjunction with the following words *et pontificibus tradita*, they more naturally apply to the bringing of the girl by her parents to the pontiffs in the Regia for admission into the priesthood. The expression should be compared with what is said a little further on by the same author, of the manner of appointing a Vestal which was then usual, instead of following strictly the old law (*lex Papia*), by which the virgins were publicly selected by lot. "If," he says, "any person of honourable birth comes to the Pontifex Maximus, and offers his daughter for the priesthood, the *lex Papia* may be dispensed with." And, he adds, that the Vestal was said to be "taken" because she was actually seized—like a captive in war—by the hand of the pontifex out of the hand of the parent, in whose *potestas* she formerly was. These are ceremonies that would naturally take place at the Regia.

tatis, Atrium Minervae, and is analogous to our English word *hall* in the combination, town-hall, guild-hall, and the like. It also occurs in the names of private houses in the case of the *atria duo, Moenium et Titium.* (Liv. xxxix. 44). *Atrium regium* seems therefore to be merely equivalent to *regia* or *domus regia.*

[a] Fasti, vi. 263.

[b] Et nisi in augusto loco consilium senatus habere non poterat. Unde templum Vestae non fuit augurio consecratum, ne illuc conveniret senatus, ubi erant Virgines. Nam haec fuerat regia Numae Pompilii. Ad atrium autem Vestae conveniebat, quod a templo remotum fuerat. (Serv. ad Aen. vii. 153). The words, *Nam haec fuerat regia Numae Pompilii*, would be more intelligible if they came at the end.

[c] Virgo Vestalis simul est capta atque in atrium Vestae deducta et pontificibus tradita, eo statim tempore . . . e patris potestate exit. Aul. Gell. i. 12.

The passage from Pliny appears a more cogent authority for connecting the Atrium Vestae with the Virgins' house. This author, in one of his letters, laments the ill health of Fannia, which he attributes to her having nursed in sickness Julia, a Vestal virgin, first as a volunteer, and afterwards by the appointment of the *Pontifices*. "For," he adds, "when Virgins are compelled by sickness to go out from the Atrium Vestae, they are committed to the care and custody of matrons."[a] The most obvious interpretation of *atrio Vestae excedere* has been based on the supposition that the Atrium was the Vestals' house. But here, too, since the delivery of the sick lady to the matron was a formal act, not of the Virgo Vestalis Maxima, but of the Pontifices, it is not inconceivable that it took place at the Regia, which, as we now know, was just outside the entrance of the Vestals' house; and as Julia, on her first "caption," was *tradita pontificibus* in the Atrium, she might well in the same place be committed to the custody of the person formally appointed by the pontiffs. She would thus take her temporary, or perhaps her final, leave of her high office at the same door by which she had been received into it. If this interpretation is not admissible, we must conclude, that by the time of the younger Pliny the expression Atrium Vestae had come to have a sense different from that which it bore in the time of Livy and of Ovid. It is clear, at any rate, that in the verse of the latter it is identified with the Regia.

Before parting with this subject, it will be worth while to point out what materials exist for reconstructing the architecture of the Regia. I have already in part described the marble wall of the Stanza dei Fasti, erected by Michael Angelo with the aid of the marbles derived from the ruins. The architectural compartment which was rebuilt out of these materials (consisting of a framed table, inscribed with the names of consuls, and two Doric pilasters, inscribed with triumphs, placed at intervals of two feet on each side of it), measures 13 feet in width, including the two pilasters. Beyond the pilasters the architect has added on each side, first, 3 feet 8 inches of plain wall, and then a similar pilaster, with 9 inches of wall beyond it, and has placed a Doric entablature over the whole.[b] The wall altogether is 24 feet 6 inches long, a dimension which, it may be observed, corresponds with the external measurement of the west wall of the principal room of the Regia. It should, however, be borne in mind that the parts

[a] Angit me Fanniae valetudo. Contraxit hanc dum assidet Iuliae virgini, sponte primum, est enim affinis, deinde etiam ex auctoritate pontificum. Nam virgines cum vi morbi atrio Vestae coguntur excedere, matronarum curae custodiaeque mandantur. Plin. *Ep.* vii. 19.

[b] See the illustration on p. 237.

of this wall which extend beyond the central compartment are not constructed, like that compartment, with the original materials; and their details are expressly censured as an inaccurate restoration by the contemporary authority which I shall presently have occasion to mention.

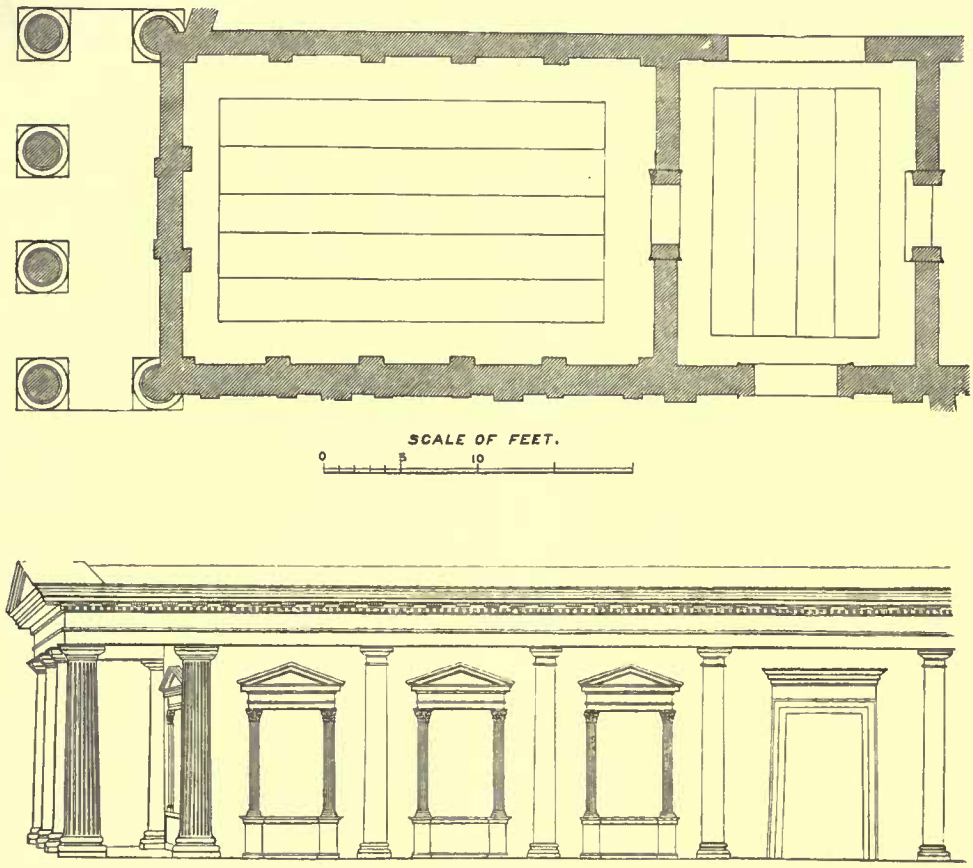
It seems that, although the entire remains of the marble building were dug out by the direction of Cardinal Farnese, only those stones were set aside and preserved upon which inscriptions were found. Such was probably the order issued by the Papal Government; and the remaining materials would naturally be claimed by the persons who had before obtained authority to dig for the purpose. The inscribed marbles and architectural fragments described in the following paragraphs were probably detached from the building and buried below the surface before the excavations of the sixteenth century.

Since the building of the marble wall several inscribed fragments have been found, especially during the recent excavations, which have been identified by the letters upon them as part of the same monument. Some of these fragments are placed in the Room of the Fasti; others are for the present in the museum on the other side of the Piazza del Campidoglio. One, which was discovered twelve years ago, amid great public interest, and which I remember seeing in the spring of 1874, placed with a chaplet round it on the base of the temple of Julius, contained the top of the first pilaster of triumphs, inscribed with the first triumph of Romulus. This most interesting marble is now unfortunately missing, having, as it is supposed, been put away in an unknown box with other fragments of inscribed or sculptured stone preserved from the excavations; and no photograph or careful drawing of it appears to exist. In addition to its historical interest, it supplied some architectural evidence, having part of the astragal or bead moulding of the Roman-Doric capital attached to it. A fragment of another similar capital is built into the wall. And among the pieces found in more recent times is one, which includes a small member of the Corinthian capital of one of the smaller pilasters, and in this way confirms another part of the architecture of Michael Angelo's wall. It is worthy of observation, that the inscribed fragments lately dug up in the rubbish of the Forum preserve on their face some remains of an original coating of fine stucco. This observation may be compared with what has been said before of the remaining wall of the marble ruin.[a]

Beside the inscribed marbles preserved in the Capitol, there also exist, among the numerous architectural fragments discovered in the recent excavations and now

[a] See p. 231.

lying in the Forum, some fine pieces, which from their material and proportions, and other indications, appear to have been parts of the same marble ruin. The most



Restored plan and south elevation of part of the Regia. Scale 1 : 150.[a]

important of these are a capital of a column with part of the fluted shaft attached to it; part of a shaft and part of a three-quarter column with similar fluting; parts of a cornice and of a pediment; and the capital (in two fragments) of a richly decorated pilaster, belonging to the interior decoration. The architectural order to which all these fragments belong must be called Doric, but Doric much enriched and treated with great freedom, such as was used by the later Greek architects. The columns are fluted, not in Doric fashion, but with an intermediate

[a] In the above restoration of the Regia, all the principal architectural details (except the door) are derived from the marbles of the Fasti, or from the fragments existing in the Forum.

*

fillet which has a little hollow carried down it. The cornice has square Doric mutules with guttae, which appear to have been continued even under the upper part of the pediment; and below them are the dentils which are usually considered as appropriate to the later orders. The pilaster capital, which is of beautiful design, evidently belonged to our marble building, as both pieces are parts of a solid marble wall.[a] These architectural fragments, which are of great beauty, and in my humble judgment might not improbably have been designed by a Greek architect of the first century before Christ, are well worthy of a careful technical study. I think it not improbable that the columns indicate the former existence of a *porticus* at the end of the principal apartment of the Regia. Such a *porticus* at the western extremity, with its fluted corner column to the left of the second table of consuls, would furnish a reason for the list of triumphs not being begun at this place; the pilaster to the left of the third table, upon which this list appears in fact to have commenced, would in such an arrangement be the first flat pilaster in the façade.

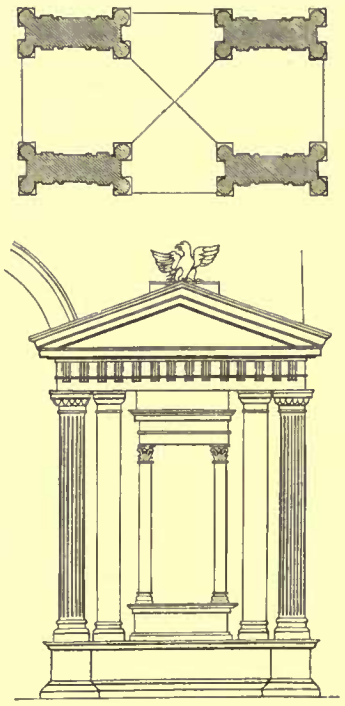
Another authority upon the architecture of the building on which the Fasti were inscribed, is found in a manuscript volume of Pirrho Ligorio, preserved in the Archivio del Stato at Turin, which, together with an account of the discovery of those marbles, contains also Ligorio's representation of the form of the monument upon which they were placed. Canina drew attention to this work in a speculative paper upon the original situation of the Capitoline Fasti, which was published in 1853, in the Annals of the Archaeological Institute of Rome;[b] where he gives in one of the plates a sketch from Ligorio's plan and drawing of the supposed building. And in passing through Turin on my way from Rome I have lately had the opportunity of looking at Ligorio's original manuscript.

The antiquaries of the Cinquecento, in the accounts which they have handed down to us of architectural remains, frequently mix up their own designs and restorations with the ruins they had seen, and Pirrho Ligorio is especially notorious for the mingling of fiction with fact in his report of archaeological curiosities. His account of this discovery is by no means an exception to the rule; but it is valuable as founded on a material substratum of observation. He gives an exaggerated report of the quantity and contents of the inscriptions, in which he asserts that there were eight tables of supreme magistrates, including proconsuls and praetors, and sixteen pilasters of triumphs, and that in the spaces between the tables and the pilasters were written "the ludi seculares,

[a] These pieces are now placed between the temples of Castor and Vesta.

[b] *Annali*, xxv. 227.

the pontiffs, and the acts of augurs, quindecemviri, and curule aediles."[a] In his general picture of the monument on which they were inscribed he evidently draws no less upon his imagination. It was, as he describes it, a great arch of marble, which he calls *Summus Janus*, having two transverse passages through it, each eighteen feet wide. The four piers were rectangular in plan, not square; and each pier had a table and two pilasters (similar to the compartment now in the Capitol) on each of its longer sides, one external and one inside the arch. In this way he makes up his eight tables of magistrates and sixteen pilasters of triumphs. The design as a whole is evidently imaginary, having its origin, like Canina's subsequent paper founded upon it, in an ambition to solve authoritatively the question of the nature and position of the famous Jani of the Forum. But the architectural details are taken from observation; and there is one important particular which is not in Michael Angelo's wall. At all the corners of his piers Ligorio shews in his drawing a three-quarter Doric column; and in his written narrative he expressly calls attention to the fact that in the restoration at the Capitol the builders had deviated unnecessarily from the original architecture by omitting "the round columns" and substituting flat pilasters instead. This passage has not been cited by Canina, and I therefore give it, as it has an interest now which it had not in 1853. The words follow those copied in the *Annali* at p. 247, describing the destruction of parts of this building. "However," he continues, "after so much blundering, the generous Cardinal Farnese, moved to pity, caused these stones at his own expense to be set up in the Capitol, but with some confusion, although the round columns were there and might have been restored and put in place, instead of patching them, as they have done, and deprived them of their original and proper character."[b] There can be little doubt, that the three-



Plan and architecture of the *Summus Janus*, as designed by Ligorio (copied from his MS. *Antichità*).
[The plan is half the scale of the elevation, which represents one side of the arch only.]

[a] Some *ludi seculares* were in fact recorded on these walls.

[b] Ordunque dopo tanto errore, mosso a pietà il generoso Cardinale Farnese con sua impensa li fece collocare in capitolio, ma confusamente, se bene v'erano le colonne rotonde da poterle

quarter columns, of which, as I have stated, a fragment has been found in the recent excavations, were seen by Ligorio, and believed by him to belong to the architecture of the Fasti. And as he must also have seen something of the plan of the building, the walls of which were, as he tells us, dug out to the foundations (spiantati fino ai fondamenti), we cannot but regret that we have not his original sketch-book,[a] instead of the coloured account which he thought proper to give in his collected work, in order apparently to mystify his brother antiquaries upon the subject of the *Summus Janus*.

restaurare e metterle, senza rimpiastrarle come l'hanno rimpiastrate et tolte dalla sua prima et propria qualitate. Ligorio, *Antichità*, MS. vol. xv. p. 125.

[a] I have not had an opportunity, since my return to England, of looking at Ligorio's book of memoranda, preserved in the Bodleian Library; but a friend, who has looked at it for me, informs me that there appears to be nothing in it relating to the ruin which forms the subject of this paper.

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